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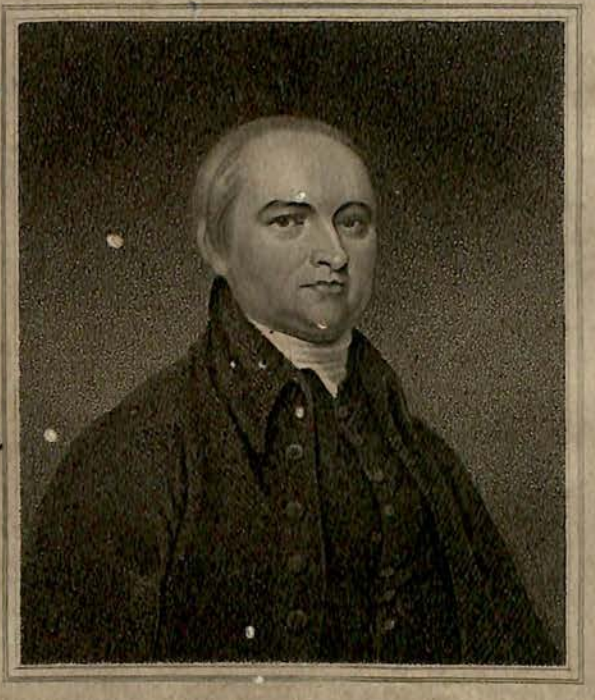

Timothy Dwight, L.L.D. L.L.D.

President of Yale College

Connecticut, America.

however, convinced me, that short notes, containing such hints concerning what I saw and heard, as would enable me to detail the facts, and describe the scenes, of which it was proposed to give an account, would better answer my purpose. Accordingly they were adopted by me; prescribing, however, this condition to myself, that all the objects of importance, which occupied either the imagination or the memory, should be described at length the first leisure moment, while my notes would render my recollection fresh and complete.

Not long after the first part of the work began to be extended to its proper size, the increased weakness of my sight obliged me to desist. In consequence of this event, the members of the senior class of Yale college, which was graduated in 1802, spontaneously offered to write for me in succession. Their example was followed by the three succeeding classes; and in this manner a first copy of the work, so far as I had then pursued my investigations, was completed. But for the politeness of these young gentlemen, it would probably have been relinquished.

In 1805, I was appointed professor of Theology; and, as I could not otherwise perform the duties of the office, the corporation enabled me to employ an amanuensis. With this aid I renewed my efforts.

The turmoil excited between this country and Great Britain, threw, however, many discouragements in my way. Without expatiating upon the subject, I shall only observe, that the book would have been finished several years sooner had it not been for this hindrance.

Originally, I intended to confine my observations to New-England: but, as my excursions were in several instances made chiefly in New-York; as a considerable majority of its inhabitants are derived from New-England; as the rest are intimately connected with New-England by business, intercourse, and attachments; and as no adequate account of that state had been given to the public, I determined to include it in my remarks.

Many kinds of information, which I wished, and which it was impossible for me to acquire without the assistance of others, I have found it extremely difficult to obtain. Such assistance I have often been promised, and, I doubt not, with sincerity and good will. But the object, lying out of the path of common business, has, I suppose, been postponed until it has been forgotten. In various instances, however, I have received valuable aid of this nature; and, could the number have been materially increased, the work would have been more interesting and more useful.

What I have seen and heard, the reader, will, I believe, find reported with a good degree of exactness as well as with sincerity. But it ought to be observed, that the state of this country changes so fast, as to make a picture of it, drawn at a given period, an imperfect resemblance of what a traveller will find it to be after a moderate number of years have elapsed. The new settlements, particularly, would in many instances scarcely be known, even from the most accurate description, after a very short lapse of time. Of this I have had the most ample evidence from these journeys.

The information, which I have received from others, will, I am persuaded, be generally found to be just.

The towns and villages, through which I have passed, are described in these Letters with a minuteness, which in all probability may be disagreeable to a considerable class of readers; some of whom have no relish for topography, while others are pleased with no accounts but such as are given in the gross. Happily these persons can easily pass them by. Two reasons have influenced me to adopt this measure. To many of mankind the subject will be interesting; and without such accounts a correct knowledge of any country is unattainable. Men, who unite curiosity with expansive views, usually find not a little pleasure in comparing the different degrees of improvement, which a country attains at different stages of its history, and the different aspects, which, in every important particular, it exhibits at these periods to an inquisitive eye. To individuals of this description the means for indulging this propensity will be furnished by these Letters.

In a number of instances I have delineated the scenery, which presented itself to me in my excursions. This kind of description has, I acknowledge, been carried to excess by several modern travellers. But that excess infers no impropriety in the nature of the case. There are two reasons, besides the pleasure I have found in the employment, which, if I mistake not, will justify the attention here paid to this subject. The scenery, which these countries display, is very fine, and it has never been described. At the same time, not a small number of readers are delighted

with landscapes, and their taste is as reasonably consulted, to some extent, by a writer, as that of graver minds. When I hear so many individuals converse on the scenes of nature with so much pleasure, I cannot hesitate to believe, that, wherever justice is done to such scenes in a book, it will be read by them with some degree of the same pleasure.

In the accounts of travels, given to the public, on the eastern continent, the writers have long been accustomed to expatiate on a train of splendid buildings; such as palaces, castles, churches, abbeys, and convents, especially when in ruins; on the paintings also of eminent masters; and on theatres, actors, and actresses. The buildings they have described so often, as evidently to have done them full justice, and to give them all the importance which they really possess. After the ninety-ninth reading, most persons will probably be satisfied without being summoned to the hundredth. Of pictures, and the genius and characteristical skill which they exhibit, very imperfect conceptions are formed from a description, however accurate. The labours of the writer, therefore, must ordinarily terminate in displaying his own taste and discernment as a connoisseur. To a small number of mankind, theatres and actors are objects of importance, but one would naturally think, that they had long since exhausted the dregs of criticism. Probably these travellers would be of the same opinion, were not the criticisms their own. The beautiful and magnificent scenes of nature are generally delightful to the human mind; and therefore have an obvious claim to the attention of a traveller. Most of those, found in the countries which are the principal subjects of

this work, have never been presented to the public; and, except by a few individuals, are unknown. They may, therefore, be admitted into a book, the first time, with as much propriety as buildings, pictures, and theatres, the hundredth.

The pieces of history, which will be found in this work, were introduced into it for the following reasons. Many of them have been unknown to most readers. The subjects of others have heretofore been erroneously exhibited; and the events, which are recited, will be more distinctly realized, when immediately connected with the places, in which they occurred. The reader, in this case, partakes partially of the emotion, experienced by a traveller, when standing on the spot, which was the scene of an interesting transaction.

It was early suggested to me, that nothing would so much gratify the curiosity of the public as the history and characters of living men of distinguished reputation. The suggestion was undoubtedly well founded; yet the task, which it imposed, seems irreconcilable with the dictates of delicacy. With many of those, who have acted an important part in American affairs since the commencement of the Revolution, I have been acquainted, and with not a small number of them intimately. But I have been unable to persuade myself to assume the office of introducing the world into their private retirements, and setting before it an inventory of their characteristical attributes. No person would justify me in censuring them: to praise them, which would usually be my only employment, would be scarcely less rude,

and to them scarcely less painful. In a very small number of instances, and in very limited degrees, I have departed from the rule, which propriety seemed to prescribe, but in such a manner as will, I hope, be excused.

Of the dead I have in several instances given characters. Where I have know them, I am responsible for what I have written. Where I have been indebted to history or information, the materials relied on were such as appeared to be satisfactory. In some instances, the characters given will be found defective; and, in others, persons, not less meritorious than such as have been selected, are passed over in silence. My apology, with respect to both classes, is the want of information in which I could confide. The misfortune I regret, but have been unable to find a remedy.

An account of travels through the countries, here described, must, if written with truth, be destitute in several important particulars of the entertainment, expected from travels on the eastern continent. Adventures, of all kinds, must be very rare in a country perfectly quiet and orderly in its state of society. In a series of journeys, sufficiently extensive to have carried me through two-thirds of the distance round the globe, I have not met with one. Nearly every man, whom I have seen, was calmly pursuing the sober business of peaceful life: and the history of my excursion was literally confined to the breakfast, dinner, and supper of the day.

These countries, also, have been the theatres of comparatively few splendid or even uncommon events;

such as very conveniently come to the aid of the European tourist, and often relieve him from the dull routine of mere journeying.

Nor have national wealth, taste, and grandeur, for any great length of time, or in any great number of instances, been displayed, here, in magnificent buildings, canals, public libraries, and vast collections of antiquities and curiosities. These, and other things of a similar nature, arrest, in European countries, the attention of travellers; and, when recorded, agreeably engage that of their readers. Nor has private opulence in these states been extensively employed in raising up "such a collection of magnificent villas and palaces, with their beautiful appendages," as on the eastern continent, and the island of Great Britain, exhibit the hand of refined taste, and indicate the residence of affluence and distinction. There are here many handsome, and some splendid structures; probably more than could rationally be expected from our circumstances. But immense private wealth is rare; and the style of building and living is rather neat and comfortable than magnificent. Estates are customarily distributed to all the children of a family in equal proportions; and the happiness of all is consulted rather than the splendour of one.

Nor can the traveller find here those varieties of character, religion, language, customs, and manners, which in Europe so often diversify the scene, even at little distances, and give beauty and interest to his descriptions. Some such varieties he will meet with in the field, which I have explored; but the distinctions will not be so marked as to strike his eye

with much force, or to yield his readers any great gratification.

Of all these disadvantages I was perfectly aware, when this work was projected; nor was I ignorant of the importance which these objects claim in works of this nature, the curiosity which they excite, the happy opportunities for narration and description which they furnish, or the means which they afford for indulging the strong propensity of the human mind to compare and connect ancient persons and things with those which are modern.

An inhabitant of Europe, and not improbably an inhabitant of the United States, after reading this recital, may naturally ask, what could induce me to write a book of travels concerning countries, in which none of these advantages are found. My reasons were these.

The subject is to a considerable extent new. Nor have the books, published by foreign travellers, divested it of this character. In a great measure it is new to my countrymen. To foreigners most of it is absolutely unknown.

The scene is a novelty in the history of man. The colonization of a wilderness by civilized men, where a regular government, mild manners, arts, learning, science, and Christianity have been interwoven in its progress from the beginning, is a state of things, of which the eastern continent, and the records of past ages, furnish neither an example nor a resemblance. Nor can it be questioned, that this state of things presents one interesting feature in the human character; or that it exhibits man in one advantageous attitude,

and his efforts in a light, which is honourable to our nature.

In New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, the public worship of God has always been established by law, and for a long time, without the communication of peculiar privileges to any class of Christians. Here only, in the history of man, has this experiment been made. The first practical answer, therefore, to the great question, whether such a state of things is consistent with the public peace, good order, and safety, has been given in these states. Speculations on this subject have never satisfied either the understanding or the fears of inquisitive men. An experiment was absolutely necessary.

Here the experiment has been extensively made; and, to say the least, has gone far towards proving, that Christians of different classes can live together harmoniously under a government which confers on them equal privileges. Facts, continued through a sufficient period, have solved the problem. Hereafter it will scarcely be doubted, that, where the blessings of rational liberty and universal protection are securely enjoyed, men, of very different religious views, can all be strongly attached to the government.

In these countries what may be called parochial schools are everywhere established; and all children are taught to read, write, and keep accounts. In this important fact it is seen without a doubt, that ignorance is not necessary for the preservation of good order among the multitude. Future generations will at least believe, that the knowledge derived from this

education, instead of making men worse citizens and subjects, certainly makes them better; while it enables them, also, to discharge the duties of parents and children, of neighbours and friends, in a manner more useful, pleasant, and praiseworthy.

In Massachusetts and Connecticut the great body of the inhabitants are carried to the church from the cradle, and leave it only for the grave. It is believed, that the happy influence of this important fact, in promoting the prosperity of a state, in preventing crimes, and in establishing good order, under a government involving comparatively few restraints upon personal liberty, is here evinced in the most satisfactory manner.

All these things, except the establishment of public worship by law, are to a considerable extent true of the other states described in these Letters.

In both New-England and New-York, every man is permitted, and in some, if not all the states, is required to possess fire arms. To trust arms in the hands of the people at large has, in Europe, been believed, and so far as I am informed universally, to be an experiment fraught only with danger. Here by a long trial it has been proved to be perfectly harmless; neither public nor private evils having ever flowed from this source, except in instances of too little moment to deserve any serious regard. If the government be equitable; if it be reasonable in its exactions; if proper attention be paid to the education of children in knowledge and religion, few men will be disposed to use arms, unless for their amusement, and for the defence of themselves and their country. The difficulty here

has been to persuade the citizens to keep arms, not to prevent them from being employed for violent purposes.

In these countries lands are universally held in fee simple. Every farmer, with too few exceptions to deserve notice, labours on his own ground, and for the benefit of himself and his family merely. This also, if I am not deceived, is a novelty; and its influence is seen to be remarkably happy in the industry, sobriety, cheerfulness, personal independence, and universal prosperity of the people at large. Great wealth, that is, what Europeans consider as great wealth, is not often found in these countries. But poverty is almost unknown. Comfortable subsistence is enjoyed everywhere, unless prevented by peculiar misfortunes or by vice. The feelings of a benevolent man are very imperfectly satisfied by the sight of opulence and splendour in the hands of a few, contrasted by want and suffering in the many; of palaces and villas, encircled by cottages and cabins. A succession of New-England villages, composed of neat houses, surrounding neat school-houses and churches, adorned with gardens, meadows, and orchards, and exhibiting the universally easy circumstances of the inhabitants, is, at least in my own opinion, one of the most delightful prospects which this world can afford.

The conversion of a wilderness into a desirable residence for man is an object, which no intelligent spectator can behold without being strongly interested in such a combination of enterprise, patience, and perseverance. Few of those human efforts, which have excited the applause of mankind, have demanded

equal energy, or merited equal approbation. A forest, changed within a short period into fruitful fields, covered with houses, schools, and churches, and filled with inhabitants, possessing not only the necessaries and comforts, but also the conveniences of life, and devoted to the worship of Jehovah, when seen only in prophetic vision, enraptured the mind even of Isaiah; and, when realized, can hardly fail to delight that of a spectator. At least it may compensate the want of ancient castles, ruined abbeys, and fine pictures. This is a subject which hitherto has scarcely found a place in the productions of the press, and will be imperfectly comprehended by those, who have not seen the process extensively, and examined it with interest.

These considerations furnish a partial answer to the question mentioned above. An additional reason for undertaking the present work, as has already been hinted, was the injustice done to these countries by European travellers. The United States have been regarded by this class of men as fair game, to be hunted down at pleasure. Nor have travellers alone entered the chase. Other writers, particularly literary journalists, have united with them in the pursuit; and, it must be acknowledged, with sufficient keenness.

New-England has been the object of this persecution from its infancy. The spirit, which drove our ancestors to these shores, followed them across the Atlantic; and from that time to the present has endeavoured to satiate itself by calumniating both them and their descendants. Hardly an attempt has, in the mean time, been made towards their defence. Silence, under such aspersions, is easily construed into a confession of their

truth. To resist this construction, and the injustice to which it owes its origin, is unquestionably one of the duties incumbent on the natives of New-England.

The countries which are the subject of these Letters, and which for the sake of brevity, as well as from their local position, I shall style the Northern States, are undoubtedly that part of the American republic in which its strength is principally found. In 1810, they contained a population of 2,431,022; of which 15,435 were at that time slaves; 15,017 in New-York, and 418 in New-England. The remainder, amounting to 2,415,587, were free. The whole number of inhabitants in the United States was the same year 7,239,903. The slave population was 1,191,364, leaving 6,049,539 free inhabitants. The free population of the whole republic, the northern states excepted, amounted therefore to 3,618,517. But this is an imperfect exhibition of the comparative strength of these divisions. The free blacks in the United States were, in 1810, 186,446; of which 44,821 were in the northern states, 25,333 in New-York, and 19,488 in New-England. This number, taken from 2,431,022, leaves 2,386,201, the number of white inhabitants in these states. The remainder, 141,627, the free black population in the southern and western states, taken from 3,618,517, leaves 3,476,890, the number of white inhabitants which they contain. Two-fifths, therefore, of the white population of the American republic, its only real strength, are included in the northern states. Of these two-fifths, 2,350,000, occupy in a solid column a territory of less than 100,000 square miles, while the

remaining three-fifths are spread over a surface of more than a million.

The tonnage of the northern states, in the year 1809, amounted to 811,495 tons: that of the rest of the Union, to 538,785.

The commerce of the northern states may be estimated by the value of their exports, which in the year 1810 amounted to 33,022,878 dollars, that of the rest of the Union to 33,735,092. In the year 1806, the most favourable for the commerce of the southern division, its exports amounted to 53,778,174 dollars; and that of the northern, to 47,758,789.

The manufactures of the northern states in 1810, according to the estimate published by congress, amounted to 73,517,260 dollars; and those of the southern and western states to 99,245,416. The manufactures of the northern states, therefore, were then more than 7-17ths of the whole; and there is the best reason to believe, that, at the present time, they fall very little short of half.

It is scarcely necessary to add here, that the efforts made to encourage literature and science have always in New-England, and lately in New-York, been unrivalled on this side of the Atlantic, unless perhaps in some respects in Mexico.

From all these considerations a wise man, and especially a good man, on either continent, will, if I am not deceived, be interested to learn the state of these countries.

The attachment felt by every man to the land which gave him birth, and which invests it in his mind with

a peculiar importance, will be rationally supposed to have enhanced these considerations in my own. If a Laplander believes the frosty region around him to have been the seat of Paradise, and an Icelander can find a comfortable life nowhere but in the dreary island in which he was born, it cannot be thought strange, that a native of New-England should feel a part of the same interest in the scenes which have accumulated so many and so various enjoyments around himself, and all who have been dear to him, from his earliest remembrance.

At the same time, this was a task which no other person appeared likely to perform. I am not acquainted with a single American, who has travelled through these states for the purpose of examining and describing them. Multitudes of my countrymen make many journeys of pleasure, as well as of business; but none, or certainly very few, designed for this kind of investigation. What was observed to me and my companions at Province town, that "we were the first persons who had ever travelled over that peninsula from motives of curiosity," might have been said with much propriety of many other parts of the countries which I have visited. Had not the object fallen incidentally in my way, this account would never have been begun.

These Letters are addressed to an English Gentleman. Sufficient reasons for adopting this address will, it is believed, appear from the Letters themselves. I wish it however to be understood, that they are written for my own countrymen. From the numerous errors published in Great Britain concerning American sub-

jects, of the most obvious nature, and such as seem hardly to admit of mistake, it is naturally concluded, that few persons in that island feel any wish to become acquainted with the situation of the United States, or with the real character of their inhabitants. By the government, indeed, we must, from the extent of our territory, our local circumstances, our population, and our commerce, be considered as possessing a degree of political importance; and by the merchants of Liverpool, and the manufacturers of Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield, we may be regarded with some attention as customers. But, except by the religious part of the British nation, we seem to be chiefly unknown, or forgotten, in the character of rational beings, or known and remembered almost only to be made the objects of contempt and calumny. A book, which professes nothing more than to give a description of a country and a people, regarded in this manner, can form no claims on the attention of those by whom the subjects of which it treats are thus estimated. It may indeed be read, or at least reviewed, by some or other of the literary journalists of Great Britain. From these gentlemen, Americans, and their writings, have customarily met with one kind of treatment only. I neither claim, nor wish, any exemption from the common lot of my countrymen.

The remarks on several works published by European travellers, concerning the American States, particularly concerning New-England and New-York, were demanded by the nature of my design. The account, which I proposed to give, would have been incomplete, had not so many of their errors been

pointed out as to show that reliance cannot safely be placed on their representations. Most of these errors were probably unintentional. On some I cannot put this construction.

There are readers, who will undoubtedly think that I have said more concerning religion than was to have been expected from a work of this nature; certainly more than is ordinarily found in such works. Something will perhaps be allowed to my professional character. To men of superior understanding it will be sufficient to observe, that the religion of every country forms a feature in the aspect of its society so prominent and so important, that any portrait, in which it was left out, would be deformed and monstrous. It will naturally be remembered also, that a large portion of those, who will purchase and peruse this work, will in all probability be religious men, deeply interested in just observations on this subject; and that their taste and wishes had as high a claim to be consulted as the inclinations of any other persons whatever.

I am not, however, satisfied with having suggested these reasons. It is with no small regret that I have observed the timidity with which subjects of a religious nature are approached, the coyness with which they are mentioned, the indifference, and sometimes even the sedulity with which they are avoided, by clergymen, in such of their works as are not professedly theological. The natural, and as I believe the general, construction of this conduct is, that the minister introduces religion into his writings only when he is compelled by public opinion. This conclusion is certainly, and eminently, unhappy. Religion is not to

be forced into any composition; but it is also not to be excluded, either from indifference, shame, or fear. Least of all men ought a clergyman to discover, or to feel, these dispositions. Propriety he is, indeed, bound to consult; and not, by neglecting it, to injure both his character and his cause. But within the limits of propriety he is ever to show, that it holds the high place in his thoughts which he professionally attributes to it in the desk.

CONTENTS

OF

VOL. I.

JOURNEY TO BERWICK.

LETTER I.

Boundaries of New-England. Its Coasts, Harbours, and Lakes. General Divisions. Population. Mountains. Rivers. Brooks, &c. 1

LETTER II.

Soil. Mineralogy. Forest Trees. Native and Cultivated Fruits. Flowering Shrubs. Vegetables. Products of the Field. Quadrupeds. Birds, Insects, and Fishes of New-England. 9

LETTER III.

Climate and Seasons. North-West Winds. Opinions relative to the Causes of these Winds examined. Facts proving that the Climate has not become Milder. Successive Periods of Cold

Page

and Heat. Causes of the Cold produced by the North-West Winds..... 32

LETTER IV.

Climate of New-England continued. Account of the most remarkable Tempests which have been known in this Country. Thunder Storms. Droughts. Enemies to Vegetation..... 46

LETTER V.

Frequent Changes of Temperature. Pleasant Months. Seasons: time of their Commencement. Variations of Thermometers. Atmosphere. Quantity of Rain..... 52

LETTER VI.

Healthfulness of New-England. Longevity of the Inhabitants. Principal Diseases. Epidemics. Tables, showing the comparative Healthfulness of New-England and some of the Southern States. Observations respecting the Longevity of the Inhabitants in the Large Towns..... 58

LETTER VII.

Earthquakes which have been known in New-England. Storms of Wind, Rain, and Hail..... 68

LETTER VIII.

Soil of New-England. Misrepresentations relative to the Country and its Inhabitants. Forests; the manner in which they renew themselves. Husbandry. Produce of different Crops. Defects in the Husbandry. Face of the Country beautiful..... 76

LETTER IX.

General Account of the Indians of New-England. Divisions of

Page

their Nations or Tribes. Their Character, Passions, and Manners. Their Weekwams, Agriculture, Wars, Treatment of Captives, Government, Knowledge of Medicine, Religion, Morals, and Language. Considerations relative to their Origin 84

LETTER X.

Discovery and Colonization of New-England. Mr. Robinson and his Church escape from Persecution in England and take refuge in Holland. They embark for America, and settle at Plymouth. Settlement of Salem, Charlestown, and Boston; of Hartford, Windsor, &c., in Connecticut; of Portsmouth, &c., in New-Hampshire; and of Providence in Rhode-Island. Feeble attempts to plant Towns in the district of Maine..... 103

LETTER XI.

Difficulties encountered by the Colonists of New-England. Wars with the Indians. Hostility of King James II. Troubles arising from the neighbourhood of the French in Canada. Opposition of the British Government to the Rights of the Colonies. Oppressive Measures of Parliament, which terminated in the Revolutionary War, and in the Independence of the United States..... 116

LETTER XII.

Charges preferred against the Colonists of New-England examined; viz. their Separation from the Church of England; their Superstition; their Rigidness; their Observance of the Sabbath with Jewish rigour; their adoption of the Municipal Law of the Jews; their Resistance to the British Government; their Oppression of the Aborigines 132

LETTER XIII.

Excellencies of the Colonists of New-England; viz. their En-

Page

terprise and Industry, their love of Science and Learning, their love of Liberty, their Morality, their Piety..... 140

LETTER XIV.

General View of Connecticut. Its Counties, Towns, Cities, Congregations of different Denominations of Christians. Number of Schools and Scholars 144

LETTER XV.

Commencement of the Jonrney to Berwick in 1796, from New-Haven. Account of New-Haven, its Harbour, Soil, Squares, and Streets, Buildings, Churches, Inhabitants, Commerce, and Places of Burial. Character of its Inhabitants. Market, and Prices of Provisions. State of Society. Population..... 149

LETTER XVI.

History of the Establishment and Progress of Yale College 167

LETTER XVII.

Account of Yale College continued. Its principal Benefactors. Course of Studies. Medical Institution. Examinations. Annual Commencement. Degrees conferred. Government of the College. Its Parental Character. Number of its Alumni 174

LETTER XVIII.

Northford. Tenure of Lands. Durham. Rev. Dr. Goodrich. Middletown. Beautiful Prospects. Account of great Speculations in Stocks and Lands 182

LETTER XIX.

Stepney. Prospect from Rocky-Hill. Wethersfield. Story of

Page

William Beadle. Hartford. Its Public Buildings. Soil. Commerce and Population. Rev. Thomas Hooker 192

LETTER XX.

Government of Connecticut. Duties and Privileges of Counties and of Towns 207

LETTER XXI.

Observations on the Constitution of Towns. Schools of Public Business. Their Measures, Sources of Political Knowledge, and Stability in the Government 214

LETTER XXII.

Original Constitution of Connecticut. Observations on it, and on its Influence 219

LETTER XXIII.

Elections of Connecticut. Advantages of them. Inroads made on their Purity 223

LETTER XXIV.

General Election of Connecticut 233

LETTER XXV.

Legislature of Connecticut 236

LETTER XXVI.

Judicial Courts of Connecticut 238

LETTER XXVII.

Penal System of Connecticut. Newgate Prison 242

Page

LETTER XXVIII.

Executive of Connecticut. Observations concerning the System of Government 248

LETTER XXIX.

Benefits derived by the American Colonists from their Origin. Defects of the Government of Connecticut 259

LETTER XXX.

Journey to Springfield. Windsor. Hardships encountered by the first Settlers. Hon. Mr. Ellsworth 263

LETTER XXXI.

Change of Forest Vegetation. Suffield. Major-General Lyman. Military Adventurers 270

LETTER XXXII.

Springfield. Indian Attack on Springfield. Chequapee. South-Hadley Canal. South-Hadley 282

LETTER XXXIII.

Northampton. Character of its Inhabitants. Rev. Solomon Stoddard. Hon. John Stoddard. President Edwards. Hon. Joseph Hawley. Manner of settling Towns in New-England 292

LETTER XXXIV.

Northampton Records 305

LETTER XXXV.

Hadley. Governor Hopkins's Donation. Goffe and Whalley. Prospect from Mount Holyoke 315

Page

LETTER XXXVI.

Belchertown. Ware. Western. Brookfield: their Troubles from the Indians. Spencer. Leicester. Worcester. 323

LETTER XXXVII.

Shrewsbury. Hon. Artemas Ward. Northborough. Rabbi Judah Monis. County of Worcester. Its Surface, Fertility, Agriculture, and Productions. Failure in its Crops of Wheat. List of its Towns and Population. 332

LETTER XXXVIII.

Marlborough. The Barberry Bush destructive to the Cultivation of Wheat. Lakes of New-England uniformly healthy, being supplied with Water by Subjacent Springs. Diseases in the Neighbourhood of Standing Waters, occasioned by Animalculine Putréfaction. Stow. Concord. Expedition of the British, at the Commencement of the Revolutionary War, to this Town and Lexington. Reflections on this Subject 343

LETTER XXXIX.

Bedford. Billerica. Tewksbury. Middlesex Canal. Andover. Phillips' Academy. Theological Institution. Lieutenant-Governor Phillips. Bradford. Haverhill. Bridge over the Merrimac at Haverhill. Dry Rot in Timber. Canal from the Merrimac to Lake Winipiseogee. Depredations of the Indians. Story of Mr. and Mrs. Dustan. 356

LETTER XL.

Plaistow. Kingston. Exeter: its Academy. Effect of Easterly Wind. Pascataqua Bridge and River. Dover: Cruelty of the Indians: Death of Major Waldron. Story of Mrs. Heard. Somersworth. Berwick attacked by the Indians. Death of Robert Rogers. View of the White Mountains. Inns of New-England. 378

Page

LETTER XLI.

Portsmouth... Greenland... Northampton. Hampton. Hampton Falls. Salisbury. Newbury. Newburyport. Rowley. Ipswich. Hamilton. Wenham. Beverly. Salem: its Public Buildings, Harbour, Enterprise and Industry of the Inhabitants... Rev. Dr. Prince... Hugh Peters... Commerce of Salem... Danvers. Account of the Witchcraft of that Place, and Reflections 392

LETTER XLII.

Marblehead... Lynn... County of Essex.. Malden... Dr. Thatcher... Charlestown 420

LETTER XLIII.

Battle of Breed's Hill. Major-General Warren. Burning of Charlestown by the British. Honourable James Russell 428

LETTER XLIV.

Cambridge. Harvard College. Its Buildings. List of its presiding Officers. Number of Students. Terms of Admission. Board of Overseers and Corporation. Library, &c. &c. Distinguished Inhabitants of Cambridge 438

LETTER XLV.

Boston, the chief Town in New-England. Its Streets laid out in an unfortunate Manner. Its ancient and modern Houses. Its Public Buildings and Bridges 448

LETTER XLVI.

Boston. Its Commercial Institutions. Its Literary and Charitable Societies. Its Common Schools, Police, Commerce, and Manufactures 458

Page

LETTER XLVII.

Character of the Inhabitants of Boston 465

LETTER XLVIII.

Fashionable Education 471

LETTER XLIX.

Boston surrounded by pleasant Towns and Villages. Prospect from the State House. Distinguished Men. Governor Bowdoin. 479

ORDER OF THE PLATES.

Portrait of the Author ..... to face the Title page, Vol. I.

Southern Part of New-England ..... page 1, Vol. I.

Northern Part of New-England ..... Title page, Vol. II.

New-York ..... Title page, Vol. III.

MAP
of the
Southern part of
NEW ENGLAND
Compiled for
Pres.t Dwights Travels,
BY
GEORGE GILLET ESQ.
1823.
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
NEW YORK
L. I. SOUND
LONG ISLAND
ATLANTIC
HAMPSHIRE
WORCESTER
MIDDLESEX
ESSEX
BERKSHIRE
NORFOLK
PLYMOUTH
C. COD B.
BARNSTABLE
DUKES
NANTUCKET
LITCHFIELD
TOLLAND
WINDHAM
PROVIDENCE
BRISTOL
HARTFORD
KENT
NEW HAVEN
MIDDLESEX
NEW LONDON
WASHINGTON
FAIRFIELD
Scale of Miles
West of East Longitude from Yale College

JOURNEY TO BERWICK.

LETTER I.

Boundaries of New-England. Its Coast, Harbours, and Lakes. General Divisions. Population. Mountains, Rivers, Brooks, &c.

DEAR SIR;

I WILL now commence the employment, so long contemplated, of giving you an account of the countries of New-England and New-York. This, my residence in the former, and the numerous journeys, which I have taken through many parts of both, will enable me to do to a considerable extent, and with tolerable accuracy. Errors you ought to expect; but it is intended that they shall be neither numerous nor material. Before I proceed to any details, it will be necessary to give you a general view of New-England, the country which will first occupy my attention.

New-England lies between 41° and 48° north latitude, and between 54° 53′ and 74° 8′ west longitude, from Greenwich. Its length from north to south is about four hundred and ninety miles. Its breadth, in the narrowest part, is about one hundred and thirty miles. Its greatest breadth is about two hundred and fifty. Its area is about seventy thousand square miles.

New-England is bounded on the west by the state of New-York, from the south-west corner to the 45th degree of north latitude. On this parallel it extends eastward to Connecticut river. Then ascending Connecticut river, it passes up Indian

river, one of its head waters, to the extremity of the northernmost branch. From this point, it proceeds north-eastward to the province of New-Brunswick, where the limit is formed by a line, running north from the river Schoodac, beginning at the point, where it takes a south-eastern direction. From this point the Schoodac is the boundary to the ocean. The ocean forms the remainder of the eastern, and the whole southern boundary.

The division of waters lying on the east, and included between Cape Malabar (the elbow of Cape Cod) and Cape Sable, I call Massachusetts bay. That on the south, from Byram river to Cape Malabar, is known by the name of Long Island Sound; although this island extends scarcely half the distance. The eastern end is frequently called the Vineyard Sound, from the island of Martha's Vineyard. The ocean washes New-England for about seven hundred miles.

Few countries, it is believed, are better furnished with harbours than this. On the southern shore are those of Black Rock in Fairfield, New-Haven, New-London, and Stonnington, in Connecticut; the harbours of Newport, Providence, Bristol, and Warren, and, generally, the waters of Narraganset bay, in Rhode-Island; and the harbour of New-Bedford, in Massachusetts. On the eastern shore are the harbours of Provincetown, Boston, Salem, Beverly, and Newburyport, in Massachusetts, Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, Winter harbour at the mouth of the Saco, Portland, Wiscassett, Machias, Passamaquoddy, and the rivers Kennebec and Penobscot, in the district of Maine.

Beside these, the whole coast is indented with inlets, and mouths of small rivers, which furnish almost every township, lying upon the ocean, with conveniences for carrying on that portion of commerce, which is confined to vessels below 150 tons. In this respect the district of Maine is peculiarly distinguished. Perhaps no country in the world has greater advantages for navigation than New-England.

This country is, also, remarkably replenished with lakes. Most of them, however, are small. Lake Champlain, the one half of which lies in New-England, is about two hundred miles in length, and from half a mile to eighteen miles in breadth;

and is computed by Dr. Williams to contain one thousand square miles. Winnipiseogee, in New-Hampshire, is twenty-seven miles in length, and ten in breadth. Umbagog, in New-Hampshire, near the northern limit, is hitherto very imperfectly known; but is about as large as the Winnipiseogee. Moose Head in the district of Maine is sixty miles in diameter, or one hundred and eighty in circumference. Memphremagog, partly in Vermont, and partly in Lower Canada, according to Dr. Williams, is about forty miles in length and two or three in breadth. It lies principally in Lower Canada, and is surrounded by a fertile, level country. Schoodac, in Maine, is large, but has not been described. The smaller lakes are everywhere dispersed, and are probably more than one thousand in number*. It will be easily believed, that they contribute greatly to the beauty of the country. I can add concerning some hundreds, of which I have acquired information, that they are perfectly healthy. They generally owe their existence to subjacent springs; and are, therefore, usually cool, sweet, and pure water. Their borders are commonly distinguished for varied elegance; and their surface is unblemished by bulrushes, and other aquatic vegetables, which so frequently deform the small lakes of other countries in low latitudes. Indeed, nothing can be more vivid and delightful than these fine pieces of water. When one of them strikes the eye of a traveller unexpectedly, the impression strongly resembles that, made by a delightful morning in the spring.

The grand divisions of New-England are the district of Maine†, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut. The district of Maine is a part of the State of Massachusetts; and contains half of the above-mentioned area, or 35,000 square miles. New-Hampshire contains about 10,000; Vermont 11,000; Massachusetts 7,000; Rhode Island 1500; and Connecticut 5,000: in the whole 34,500. Four sevenths of New-England lie within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

* There are one hundred and two in the state of Connecticut. If they are proportionally numerous in other parts of New-England, as I have the best reason to believe, the number is more than one thousand four hundred.

† The district of Maine was admitted as a *State* into the Union in 1820. —Pub.

The population of New-England, according to the Census of 1800, amounted to 1,233,011: of which

New-Hampshire contained	183,858
Maine	151,719
Massachusetts proper	422,845
Vermont	154,465
Rhode-Island	69,122
Connecticut	251,002
Total	1,233,011

Of this number the state of Massachusetts, including Maine, contained 574,564, and the southern half of New-England upwards of 1,080,000; or a little more than 30 on a square mile. The population of the several divisions was nearly in the following proportions:—

Maine about 5 on a square mile, New-Hampshire more than 18, Vermont 15, Massachusetts proper 63, Rhode-Island 46, Connecticut 50.

In the year 1810,

Maine contained	228,705
Massachusetts proper	472,040
New-Hampshire	214,460
Vermont	217,895
Rhode-Island	76,931
Connecticut	261,942
Total	1,471,973

On a square mile there were in Maine 7, Massachusetts proper 67, New-Hampshire 23, Vermont 21, Rhode-Island 51, Connecticut 55.

The surface of New-England is generally made up of inequalities. The most extensive plain in the southern half of this country lies, partly in the county of York, and partly in the county of Cumberland, in the district of Maine. The next in size occupies a great part of the counties of Plymouth and Bristol, in Massachusetts, and a part of the state of Rhode-Island. Smaller plains are found in many places. But none of them are very extensive. Those which I have mentioned are not without their irregularities; yet in a loose sense they

may be considered as level surfaces. A great part of the country is composed of hills, of moderate elevation, and their intervening vallies.

Of the mountains I will endeavour to give you an accurate account, beginning at the western border.

In Norwalk, the westernmost township on the sound, which lies within the general western boundary of New-England, commences a chain of hills, which runs along this boundary to the north line of the state; and, entering Massachusetts, crosses that state in the same direction. Passing thence through the county of Washington in New-York, it enters the township of Fair-Haven; and thence, crossing the township of West-Haven and Benson, it unites with a spur from the Green Mountains, which terminates in small hills a few miles south of Middlebury. This range I call the *Taghkannuc range*. It is about two hundred and forty miles in length.

Between New-Haven and Milford commences another collection of hills on the sound, the easternmost of which is the mountain called West-Rock, two miles and a half from the centre of New-Haven. These hills, entering the county of Litchfield, assume universally a mountainous appearance, and continue it through Massachusetts and Vermont; declining, however, into a succession of very moderate eminences, as they approach the 45th degree of latitude. This range, from the numerous ever-greens, which grow on many parts of it, has been named the range of the Green Mountains; and is near three hundred miles in length.

About two miles eastward from West-Rock, and at the same distance from New-Haven, commences another range in a mountain called East-Rock, and runs through the counties of New-Haven and Hartford, and through a part of the county of Hampshire in Massachusetts to the township of East-Hampton. Here it crosses Connecticut river, and proceeds under the name of Mount Holyoke, to Belchertown; where it unites with the Lyme range, yet to be described. Thence it continues its course, which is generally north-eastern, to the gulf of St. Lawrence. This range, before its union with that of Lyme, I shall call *the Range of Mount Tom*; and, after this union, *the Range of the White Mountains*.

Two miles east of New-Haven, in the township of East-

Haven, commences a fourth range; which, passing through North-Haven, and the north end of Branford, rises into a mountainous height at Durham, and continues it through Middletown and Berlin. There it declines into hills of a moderate height, and is divided. One branch runs northward into Hartford. The other, passing through the lower part of Wethersfield, and crossing the Connecticut in the township of Glastenbury, unites with the Lyme range in Eastbury, its eastern parish. This I called *the Middletown Range.*

Between this range and Connecticut river, a collection of hills, generally observing the same north-easterly direction, crosses the Connecticut at Middletown and Haddam; and unites with the Lyme range in East-Haddam and Chatham.

In Lyme and Waterford commences another range, which, running directly north through the state of Connecticut in the counties of New-London, Windham, Hartford, and Tolland, enters Massachusetts in the counties of Hampshire and Worcester; and unites, as I have observed, with the range of Mount Tom at Belchertown. This, before the union, I call the *Lyme Range.*

The principal eminences, in the Taghkannuc range, are the Taghkannuc, and Saddle Mountain, a spur from this range. The Saddle Mountain is the highest land in Massachusetts.

The principal eminences of the Green Mountains are, in Connecticut, Mount Tom in Litchfield, and the mountains of Canaan and Norfolk; in Massachusetts, Hoosac Mountain; in Vermont, Killington Peak near Rutland, the Camel, Camel's rump, or Camel's back, about fourteen miles south-eastward of Burlington, and the Mountain of Mansfield in the township of that name, at about the same distance in a north-easterly direction.

The principal eminences in the range of Mount Tom are in Connecticut, Mount Carmel in Hamden, the Blue Mountains in Southington, Farmington, and Talcot Mountains; and in Massachusetts Mount Tom, and Mount Holyoke.

In the Middletown range the principal eminences are the Durham and Middletown Mountains, and Mount Lamentation in Berlin.

The principal eminences in the White Mountain range are in Massachusetts, Mount Toby, a spur in Sunderland; in New-

Hampshire, Monadnock, in Jaffrey and Dublin; Sunnapee in Fishersfield, twenty miles east of Charleston; Mooshelock, or Moosehillock, about eight miles from Haverill, a spur also; the Sandwich Mountains; Mount Wentworth, east of Bethlehem; and the White Mountains*.

The distance between the southern points of the Taghkannuc and Green Mountain ranges is twenty miles; between the southern point of the eastern ridge of the Green Mountains and the southern point of the range of Mount Tom is two miles; between this point and the southern extremity of the Middletown range three miles; and between this and the Lyme range thirty-six miles. The northern termination of the two ranges, which commence in New-Haven at the points of the East and West Rocks, two miles apart, is between two and three hundred distant.

Eastward of the Lyme range, the country is a succession of hills and vallies. The direction of the hills is generally from north to south.

In the state of New-Hampshire there are two considerable ranges, running from the north-east to the south-west. The first, or that nearest to the ocean, is named the Blue Hills; and the second, farther in the interior, the Ossapee Mountains†.

With the mountains in the district of Maine I am unacquainted. There are several mountains in New-Hampshire, extending from the neighbourhood of Connecticut river, in a right-angled direction to its course, in short ranges of not more than twenty or five and twenty miles in length. All these are north of Lancaster, or the Upper Coos. The first is the Little Moosehillock; a noble range, beginning about six miles above Lancaster in the township of Northumberland, and running eastward almost to the northern limit of the White Mountains. The second is about twelve miles above Lancaster; and is there called the Peaks, from two beautiful conical summits, visible at their settlement. The third range rises in the northern limit of Stratford. The fourth is the range of Preston Hills, in the township of Cockburn. All these, so far as I could judge from observation, run from Con-

* For a further account of the mountains in New-Hampshire see the description of that state.

† The Ossapee range is of no great length.

necticut river to the range of the White Mountains, and differ little, either in their length or elevation. There are no other mountains in New-England which run in this direction.

The solitary mountains in this country are few. In Rhode-Island and Connecticut there are none. In Massachusetts there are three; Watchuset in the township of Princeton, Deerfield Mountain in the township of that name, and Rattlesnake Mountain in Stockbridge. In New-Hampshire are Agamenticus, Moose, Major, Pondicherry, Mitten, Littleton, and several other mountains. In Vermont I know of but two: the grand Monadnoc in Canaan, and Aschutney in Windsor.

The rivers of New-England, beginning at the south-west, are the Hooestennuc (erroneously called the Housatonuc*), the Connecticut, and the Thames; Charles and Merrimac rivers; the Piscataqua; Saco, the Ameriscoggin or Androscoggin, the Kennebec, the Penobscot, and the Schoodac; beside a multitude of inferior note. As I shall have occasion to mention most of these rivers hereafter, it will be useless to describe them here.

New-England, as you will naturally suppose, abounds, and probably more than almost any other country, in springs, brooks, and small rivers; such as in the course of these observations will be generally denominated mill-streams. Scarcely a farm, except on the few plains, which the country includes, is destitute of an ample supply of water for cattle. Wells, also, yield, almost everywhere, an ample supply of water between twelve and forty feet; the greater part within less than thirty feet, from the surface. A few are dug to a greater depth. This water is very generally good. I know of no country, which in this respect is so well accommodated.

I am, Sir, &c.

* There is no such Indian word as Housatonuc: Hooestennuc signifies *over the mountain.* For this correction I am indebted to the late Dr. Edwards, President of Union College, who was perfectly acquainted with the language of the Mohekaneews.

LETTER II.

Soil. Mineralogy. Forest Trees. Native and Cultivated Fruits. Flowering Shrubs. Vegetables. Products of the Field. Quadrupeds. Birds, Insects, and Fishes of New-England.

DEAR SIR;

THE soil of this country, as you will naturally suppose, is very various. Sand, loam, and clay, exist here in all their diversities and mixtures. It is also of every degree of fertility. The richest meadows will produce from three to four tons of hay per acre at one cutting. The greatest crop of wheat, that I have known, was fifty bushels an acre; and this I never knew in more than one instance. Forty have been raised in several instances within my knowledge. One hundred bushels of maize have been raised from the best lands, and some have yielded more.

The soil, most generally diffused through this country, is a light brown loam, mixed with gravel; fitted, in different degrees of moisture and dryness, for every production of the climate; and capable, with proper culture, of the highest fertility.

I have often lamented, that I had not received an early education in mineralogy and botany; but never so much as since I began the series of journies, which have given birth to these observations. It would be impossible, that you should not be gratified with a correct account of the mineral and vegetable productions of a country, so extensive, and so rich in both, as New-England. To give you any thing like a complete account of either is out of my power. I shall, therefore, present you sketches, rather than regular details.

From the western boundary to the summit of the western ridge of the Green Mountains the country is generally calca-

reous. Limestone here abounds, from within twelve or fifteen miles of the sound to Middlebury in Vermont: a distance of more than two hundred miles. Here, also, marble, of a good quality and appearance, is found in many places, and in immense quantities. It is very extensively wrought, and bears a handsome polish. The colours are white, and white interspersed with blue. These, at least, are all, which I have seen. The white approaches almost to the purity of snow; and is several degrees lighter than the celebrated Parian marble. It is, however, coarser than most of the European marbles. The new city hall in New-York, one of the most magnificent and expensive buildings in America, is of marble procured at West Stockbridge in Massachusetts.

Gypsum has been discovered near Rutland in Vermont.

From the western ridge of the Green Mountains to the ocean, granite universally predominates. Limestone is, however, found in several spots: as in the township of Guilford in Connecticut, where the best lime is made, which I have seen; at North-Providence in Rhode-Island; at West-Springfield in Massachusetts; and in the neighbourhood of Portland.

The granite of this country is usually grey, and is generally considered as being too hard to be wrought. In the eastern parts of Massachusetts, however, it is wrought with success, and without any great difficulty. I have seen specimens of it, which would admit of a good polish, and were handsomely tinged with a variety of colours.

Magnesian stones are found in New-Haven, Milford, Stamford, and several other places. A quarry of this species of stone, at Plainfield in the county of Hampshire, has been wrought to a considerable extent. I have seen a house faced with it in Northampton.

Sandstone abounds in many places, particularly at Windsor, Chatham, Durham, Branford, North-Haven, East-Haven, and New-Haven, in all of which there are quarries, some of them extensively wrought.

Pudding stone abounds in the neighbourhood of Boston, and Newport, in Sunderland, and in Northfield, in the county of Hampshire. It exists also in various other places.

Slate of different qualities is found in too many places to be mentioned here.

Iron, in inexhaustible quantities, is found in Ridgefield, Kent, Salisbury, Somers, and Stafford in Connecticut; in the counties of Bristol, Plymouth, and Norfolk; in the county of Berkshire; at Leyden, in the county of Hampshire in Massachusetts; at Lyme, and Franconia, in New-Hampshire; and at Rutland, in Vermont. The produce of the mine at Ridgefield is, at the first forging, steel of an excellent quality. I have seen a penknife, which was made from the *ore*. The late Rev. Mr. B. of Reading, whose knife it was, assured me, that it was of an excellent quality. The ore, at Lyme, is said to yield steel in the same manner.

Copper ore abounds in the range of Mount Tom, in various places.

A lead mine has been wrought at Middletown, and another at Southampton. Lead ore is found, also, in Milford.

A mine of cobalt has been discovered in Chatham.

Manganese has been discovered in Lebanon.

Rock alum has been found in Lisbon, and in several places in New-Hampshire.

Beryls, some of them very fine specimens, have been picked up at Brookfield (Connecticut).

Rock crystals abound in many places. The largest and most beautiful amethyst which I ever saw was taken from a rock, in Haddam.

Garnets are frequently found. The largest which I have seen were taken on the shore of a small lake, between Stafford and Ellington, in the county of Tolland.

Clay, of the kind fitted for the manufacture of bricks, and of coarse earthen ware, abounds, in almost all parts of New-England. In Stamford, that which is fit for the manufacture of pipes, and what is called stone ware, exists in considerable quantities. In Washington, in the county of Litchfield, a fine white earth abounds, which, when made into paste, and burnt in a blacksmith's forge, exhibited the semivitrification of porcelain perfectly; and, when broken, presented in the fracture as fine and elegant a texture, as any China ware, which I have seen.

At Tolland, a beautiful yellow earth has been lately discovered, which yields a handsomer colour than the *Terra de Sienna*. It is called Terra Columbiana.

Yellow ochre has been found in several places.

Peat exists at little distances throughout the whole country. The inhabitants dislike to use it as fuel; and choose wood, as making a much pleasanter fire. Yet it has been burned in several places; and in some has proved remarkably good. The declaration of Dr. Anderson, therefore, that peat does not exist in America, is inaccurate.

A coal mine has been lately opened in the neighbourhood of Newport. The coal proves to be excellent for manufacturing purposes; but is not well fitted for culinary fires. It kindles slowly; but burns long, and gives an intense heat. Fragments of this useful mineral have been also discovered in several other places.

The principal forest trees of New-England are the following:—

VARIETIES OF THE PINE.

White, Norway, yellow, pitch, larch, hacmontac, or tamarisk, fir, black spruce, white spruce, single spruce, hemlock.

The white pine is the noblest forest tree in New-England, and probably in the world. It grows to six feet in diameter, and frequently two hundred and fifty in height. A gentleman, of Lancaster in New-Hampshire, told me he had seen one, which measured two hundred and sixty-four. Its stem, throughout a great part of this height, is usually exactly straight, and elegantly tapering, the leaf is finely formed, and of a beautiful green. The sound of the wind in a grove of white pines has all the magnificence, which attends the distant roar of the ocean.

Hacmontac I take to be an Indian name. It is not an evergreen. The position of the branches is nearly horizontal. The leaf is short, resembling that of the white pine, but of a lighter hue and much more delicate appearance. It grows both on uplands and in swamps.

The hemlock hardly needs a description. It is often of great height, and size; and, when growing singly, of great beauty. Its leaf is more delicately made than that of any other tree, belonging to this genus. It is more thickly clad with branches and leaves, than any other tree in New-England.

The shade of a closely set hemlock forest appears to the eye, when looking into it at a small distance, like the misty darkness of a cavern. The hemlock grows on every soil; but delights most in ground, which is moist, cold, and elevated.

The fir is a tree of a moderate height, and size. Among the many thousands, which I have seen, none have risen above fifty feet, or exceeded fifteen inches in diameter. It is, however, a tree of unrivalled beauty. Its top is always an easy, graceful cone; its stem straight; and its branches regular. Its leaves, of a deep green, delicately tinged with blue, and, when seen opposite to the sun, are silvered with an exquisite lustre. Blisters in the bark of this tree yield the balsam of fir. I am persuaded, that there are at least two varieties of this tree; but not having had an opportunity of comparing them, since I formed this opinion, I cannot discriminate them here.

The white, double spruce is also a tree of distinguished beauty. I have seen several two feet and a half in diameter, and not less than sixty in height. The stem is as straight, and as exactly tapering, as if it had been fashioned with the nicest art. Its crown also, though inferior to that of the fir, is conical, and handsome. The branches are very regular; and the leaves are beautiful; but are shorter and rounder than those of the fir; are in a small degree tinged with yellow; and grow not only on the sides of the twigs, but also above and beneath; not, however, so numerously as at the sides. Both the fir and the white spruce will grow on any soil, and in any latitude, of New-England. Yet, like the hemlock, they abound most in moist and elevated situations; and grow in a higher region on the White Mountains than any other production of the forest.

The black spruce rarely exceeds fifteen feet in height; and is that, of which the essence is made, so extensively used as an ingredient of beer.

The single spruce grows in swamps in Connecticut, and elsewhere, to the height of forty feet. This is the link between the hemlock and the white spruce, and is also used for beer.

VARIETIES OF THE CEDAR.

White, red, mongrel, swamp, juniper, savin.

The white cedar is a beautiful tree, seventy or eighty feet

in height. The plate of a building has been formed of it, fifty feet in length. Its branches are slender, irregularly set, and figured; its leaves of a fine green, but of a clumsy structure; thick, but rather flat than round; and resembling ill-formed scales, set in thick succession on the sides of the stem.

The mongrel cedar is a medium between the white and red cedar. The bark and stem resemble the latter, the figure of the branches, and the size of the tree, resemble the former. When it grows single, it becomes a fine spreading tree, at a distance resembling a spreading oak of moderate size. The leaf in its shape is like that of the white cedar, coarser, however, both in the appearance of the materials and the structure; but in its colour like that of the red. What distinguishes this from the other species still more, and from all other trees, which I have seen, is this; that in the autumn, the only time of the year in which I have seen it, a collection of red spots, not far from the size of roses, although generally larger, are seen dispersed, at moderate distances, over the whole tree. These are formed of the decayed leaves; and from finding the spots wherever I have seen the trees, *viz.* at Canaan in Connecticut, at Williamstown in Vermont, and at Dresden in the district of Maine, I suspect, that this is the mode, in which the tree regularly sheds its leaves. Those on one branch, or twig, and another, dispersed over the whole tree, decay, and fall: while those on all the remaining branches continue to live through another year, and some of them, perhaps, through another still. Not more than a third of the leaves on any one tree, which I have seen, were thus decayed; although I saw most of them in October. I do not assert, that this tree sheds its leaves in the manner specified; but that such were the facts, of which I have been an eye-witness. Unfortunately no person, of whom I inquired, was able to give me any account of this subject.

The swamp cedar is found abundantly in many parts of New-England; particularly in the county of Bristol, Massachusetts. Its external appearance is generally like that of the red cedar, but it is much larger, more thrifty, and of a straighter and smoother stem. It is easily riven; and is extensively used for shingles.

The juniper, so far as I have seen it, consists of a vast

multitude of stems, growing up in one spot, and diverging so, as ultimately to take a horizontal, and even a declining position. In this manner it spreads sometimes from six to ten feet in diameter, but in height scarcely ever above fifteen inches. It is so difficult to be eradicated, that farmers consider it as a very great nuisance to their lands.

VARIETIES OF THE OAK.

The shaggy white, the smooth white, the swamp white, the rock, the red, the yellow, the black, and the shrub.

The swamp white oak furnishes the best posts for fencing, after the red cedar.

The yellow oak yields a stronger yellow dye for staining cotton and linen, than any other substance known in this country.

The shrub oak rarely exceeds ten or twelve feet in height, grows ordinarily on lean land, and is rooted up with very great difficulty.

VARIETIES OF THE MAPLE.

Hard, or rock maple, white, or middle maple, soft, swamp, or red maple.

The hard maple, sometimes called the black, is extensively called the sugar maple, in this country. It is a noble tree; growing sometimes to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. I have known one cut for the keel of a vessel, which measured eighty-eight feet in length after it was hewed, and was still of sufficient size. The three species yield sugar of the same quality. But the sap of the white is less sweet than that of the black, and that of the red less than that of the white. The quantity of sap is, however, greater in *the inverted order*. I have known a single white maple tree yield fourteen pounds of sugar in a season. The best mode of obtaining sugar from the trees is to bore them a small distance with a tapering bit, and to insert in the orifice a quill, or tube formed of the sumach, large enough to stop it entirely. The sap is caught in short trays or bowls; and is then boiled down to the consistence of a sirup; and, while it is cooling, is stirred with a stick, until it is all converted into sugar. There are several modes in which it is grained. Those which are practised in the West Indies, for graining the sirup of the cane, are probably the best. I have seen the grain of this sugar as large

and fine as that of the best Muscovado. This sugar is of an excellent quality; and, when singly refined, is as white and pure as the double-refined sugar of the cane. The season for collecting the sap, in the southern parts of New-England, commences in February; in the northern, in March. The proper weather is formed by a frosty night, a westerly wind, and a clear, thawing day. No sap is obtained during a southerly wind. The mode which some persons pursue, of boxing the trees with an axe, although productive of more immediate gain, destroys the trees in a short time. When the other mode is adopted they will live many years. The sap of this tree is a very pleasant drink; and the sirup is by many persons preferred to honey.

VARIETIES OF THE HICKORY.

White, red, shag-bark, walnut, pignut, butternut, beetlenut.

VARIETIES OF THE ELM.

White, red, black, slippery.

The nut of the shag-bark is remarkably well flavoured.

The walnut is inferior, but good; and the fruit less distinguished by sharp ridges on the exterior. The rest are unpleasant to the taste.

The beetlenut, on its exterior, has a considerable resemblance to the nutmeg; not in shape but in texture.

The wood of the hickory is singularly elastic, and flexible; and is extensively used for all purposes, where wood of these qualities is required. It is also the best wood for fuel. The sap of the hickory becomes a fine white sugar, merely by drying; and is in its native state a very pure and sweet sirup.

VARIETIES OF THE ASH.

White, red, black, prickly, mountain.

The white ash is a handsome tree, and excellent timber for a multitude of purposes; particularly for utensils on the farm, and in the house. The mountain ash is a beautiful tree; and bears clusters of scarlet berries, remarkably brilliant.

VARIETIES OF THE BEECH.

White, red.

VARIETIES OF THE BIRCH.

White, yellow, black.

VRIETIES OF THE POPLAR.

White, aspen, balsam or black.

The white poplar is a very beautiful tree. The black birch is used for furniture of various kinds.

The bark of the white birch is the best natural substitute for paper.

Chesnut. The chesnut is one of the most useful trees of the forest; it is generally used for fencing, and is very valuable for building.

Butternut. The fruit of the butternut when dried under cover is very finely flavoured. Of its bark is formed by decoction one of the best cathartics. It also yields many beautiful dyes. The wood is very handsome in furniture.

Cherry. Several varieties.

The wood of the large wild cherry makes very handsome furniture. Its fruit, steeped in brandy or spirits, makes a rich and finely flavoured cordial.

Bass or linden.

VARIETIES OF THE TULIP-TREE.

White, yellow.

This is the most beautiful flowering tree in New-England.

The yellow tulip-tree, in full flower, appears at a little distance as if its blossoms were of gold.

Horn-beam.

VARIETIES OF THE ALDER.

White, black.

Dog-wood, or box. This also is a very beautiful flowering tree. The flowers are of a pure white, with a delicate blush on the exterior side towards the stem. Some of them are, however, wholly white; and are probably of a different species.

Shad blossom. This tree grows about fifteen feet in height, and may sometimes reach twenty, and bears this name in various parts of New-England; given, as is said, because it blossoms about the time when these fish enter our rivers. Whether this is its only name I am ignorant. It is covered with a profusion of flowers, very small, white, and of a delightful fragrance.

The native fruits of New-England are the following:—Crab-apple; plumbs, several kinds; pears; cherries, several kinds; hickory nuts; butternuts; chesnuts; walnuts; hazlenuts;

currants, red and black; gooseberries, two varieties; whortleberries, many varieties; bilberries; barberries; blackberries, running and standing; cranberries, two varieties; raspberries, scarlet, crimson three kinds, vine leaf, black and white; strawberries, meadow red and white, field, Hudson, hautboy; mulberries, black; grapes, white, brown, large purple, fox or frost grape, small purple.

The meadow strawberry of this country is the best fruit of the kind which I have seen. It is rather larger than that of Chili, sweet and more prolific. It also improves greatly by culture. I have seen several which were four inches and a half in circumference; many which were four, and bushels which were between three and four. It is ripe about a week sooner than the Chili. I have cultivated it more than twenty years, and during that time it has increased to twice its original size. I am, however, entirely persuaded, that the Chili strawberry is originally the same fruit, as with a small difference in size, sweetness, and exuberance of production, it is now the same. The colour and flavour of the fruit, and the appearance of the plant, are the same. The Chili strawberry also cultivated on the same ground has generally approximated towards the characteristics of the meadow strawberry.

The field strawberry is sweeter, ten days earlier, but much smaller than the meadow strawberry, and has not increased in size by a cultivation of eight years in my garden. The plant became immediately much larger; but the fruit hitherto has not been changed at all.

The hautboy strawberry has been found wild in the town of Colebrook, where, from the circumstances, it seems impossible that it should have owed its origin, even remotely, to culture; and altogether improbable that it should have been planted by birds. I have lately seen it also growing wild on Talcot Mountain.

The Hudson strawberry is the sweetest of all the fruits which bear this name. I have cultivated it many years, both separately and in beds, set with the hautboy and the meadow strawberry; but could never make it bear sufficiently to render it worth cultivation. It blossoms well, but is blasted apparently while blossoming. The cause appears to me to be the excessive growth of the plant.

Some of the wild plums would, I am persuaded, if improved as they might be, become fine fruit. The experiment well deserves attention, because they seem to be more free than most other fruits from the attacks of enemies.

It is a desideratum in gardening to make the fine cherries grow upon the wild cherry tree, which would furnish a stock of great thrift, size, and permanency.

The fruits, which actually grow in New-England at the present time, including those which have been already mentioned, are the following:—

On trees:—Apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, apricots, nectarines, quinces, grapes, figs, almonds, Madeira nuts, black walnuts, butternuts, American walnuts, chesnuts, beech nuts, mulberries, prunes, thorn plums.

On shrubs:—Hazlenuts, beech plums, currants, gooseberries, barberries, whortleberries, bilberries, raspberries, cranberries, partridgeberries, blackberries.

On plants:—Strawberries, vegetable eggs.

On vines:—Watermelons, muskmelons, cantelopes, mandrakes, pompions, winter squashes, summer squashes, cucumbers, gherkins, running blackberries, love apples or tomatas.

Apples abound more in New-England, it is believed, than in any other country. Cider is the common drink of all its inhabitants, the rich and poor alike. In a fruitful year apples are very often given to those who will gather them. Vast quantities of them, also, are eaten by cattle and swine. The Cider, when well made and well preserved, is generally thought more finely-flavoured than any other drink. It is, however, to a great extent both made and preserved in a very imperfect manner. This is the more to be regretted, because, with scarcely any addition of time or labour, it might always be made well; and the trouble of preserving it is of trifling consequence. The least juicy apples usually make the best cider.

About thirty species of this fruit in New-England are finely flavoured; and with a moderate degree of care may be had in perfection, successively, eleven months in the year, or from August to July. Of these, for the sake of such persons as may wish to obtain them, I will mention the following:—Pomme royal, golden apple, jenneting, Newtown pippin, fall pippin, October pippin, golden pippin, belle et bonne, green russet,

yellow russet, red russet, gilliflower, plum apple, early seek no further, late seek no further, Spitzenberg, pearmain, Holden, sweeting, green sweeting, greening.

The varieties of apples, pears, peaches, cherries, plums, gooseberries, and water melons, are in a sense endless; and the best species are very richly flavoured. Cantelopes, particularly the green cantelope, the Persian, Minorca, nutmeg, citron, and Cretan melons are exquisitely fine. There is another, which I have cultivated for several years without being able to learn its name, which is still better flavoured than either of these.

The largest water melons weigh near fifty pounds.

The nectarine, and not unfrequently the apricot, casts its fruit. This misfortune, I suspect, is owing to a fly, which stings the fruit very soon after the tree has blossomed. The appearance of such a sting may be found on almost every fruit.

Plum trees have within a few years been extensively stung in the small branches by a fly, for the purpose of laying its eggs. When the egg is hatched, the maggot feeds upon the wood until grown to full size; when it eats its way through, leaving behind it a fungous growth of the branch in which it had burrowed, swollen to half a dozen times the natural size of the limb. When this evil becomes extensively spread, the tree ceases either to grow or to bear.

The morello cherry tree has in this manner been nearly exterminated.

Many sorts of fine foreign grapes grow luxuriantly in this country, and yield exquisitely fine fruit. The most delicate kinds, however, need to be covered during the winter. The purple Madeira grape bears the winter very well.

Figs demand a covering.

The white mulberry thrives extremely well, and the silk wrought by the worm, which is fed with its leaves, is not inferior to that of Italy.

Prunes I have so named, because they were announced to me by that appellation, in the only place where I have met with them. I found them at Lancaster, in New-Hampshire, made into tarts of a very agreeable flavour; and was informed that they grew in the township of Durand, bordering upon Lancaster eastward.

The native flowering shrubs of New-England are not remarkably numerous. Those which I recollect are the following:—

VARIETIES OF THE LAUREL.

White, purple.

Small laurel, pink honeysuckle, white honeysuckle, wild rose, swamp rose, sweet briar, mountain elder, woodbine.

The laurel is the most beautiful shrub which I have ever seen. There is a fine lustre playing over its brilliant flowers, occasioned by the reflection of light from one side of the flower (which has a highly polished surface) on another. The flowers also are very numerous, and continue through a considerable period.

The small laurel has little beauty.

The sweet briar is the most fragrant of all the flowers in New-England, whether natives or exotics.

The honeysuckle, also, is remarkably fragrant, and the white even more so than the red. It is a totally different shrub from that which is known by this name in Great Britain, and far more delightful. That is a vine, this is a bush. The flowers of this, particularly of the pink coloured species, are far more beautiful, as well as more grateful to the smell.

The cultivated flowering shrubs of this country are very numerous.

The native flowering plants are also very numerous, and frequently beautiful; but no attempt has, within my knowledge, been made to describe, or even to enumerate them.

The vegetables cultivated in the New-England gardens for the table are, asparagus, artichokes, Jerusalem artichokes, cabbages, celery, endive, cresses, lettuce, spinach, peas, beans, peppers, parsley, mustard, pepper-grass, scarcity root, cauliflowers, maize, sal souffee, potatoes, summer savory, thyme, sweet marjoram, onions, garlick, chalots, chives, radishes, carrots, beets, parsnips, turnips, egg plant.

Fruits. Cucumbers, gherkins, squashes, winter squashes, watermelons, muskmelons, cantelopes, gooseberries, raspberries, blackberries, currants, strawberries, nasturtions, mandrakes, love apples, together with the numerous fine fruits yielded by the several trees mentioned above.

All the vegetables contained in the above list, except the artichoke, grow luxuriantly. This, indeed, grows well; but cannot endure the severity of our winters. The varieties of most of these vegetables are very numerous, of beans particularly.

Maize, of the kind called sweet corn, is the most delicious vegetable, while in the milky stage, of any known in this country.

Cauliflowers grow to a much larger size here than in Europe, if we are to believe your accounts.

The brown raspberry of England, and the yellow raspberry of Antwerp, are extensively cultivated here.

Fruits of every kind acquire in our clear atmosphere and warm sun a very fine flavour.

Gooseberries, when thickly set and left without pruning, are often covered with a white rust, resembling mildew; especially in wet seasons.

The kinds of produce cultivated on the New-England farms are the following:—Grass, wheat, rye, maize, barley, oats, peas, broom corn, beans, buck wheat, millet, flax, hemp, potatoes, turnips, pompions, onions.

Grass is undoubtedly the most valuable object of culture in New-England. One hundred acres of the best grazing-land, under the direction of a skilful farmer, will yield as much net profit as one hundred and fifty of the best arable land under the same direction. Grass grows spontaneously even on the driest grounds, and luxuriantly on others. The hills are often too moist to admit of most other objects of culture.

Wheat, independently of the Hessian fly, grows well wherever the ground is sufficiently dry, in all the countries westward of the Lyme and White mountain ranges; and in very many places eastward of that limit. The best species, *i. e.* the species most productive, yielding the best flour and most firmly enduring the influence of unfortunate seasons, is that, which has been commonly named the English bald-wheat. Unhappily this wheat has suffered more from the Hessian fly than any other; and is, I believe, lost out of the country.

The culture of wheat, since the Hessian fly made its appearance, has been chiefly discontinued in Connecticut. This

insect is still here, and whenever wheat is sown for a few years in any part of the country, soon becomes sufficiently numerous to destroy the crop.

Maize grows well on almost every kind of soil, and some or other of the species will ripen in almost any situation. In the southern parts of the country the earliest varieties ripen so soon that the seed will yield a second crop the same year. At New-Haven the sweet corn may be had in full perfection for the table by successive plantings from the middle of July to the middle of November. I commonly plant it at twelve different periods in the season.

After grass, maize is the most valuable crop in this country. It is extensively the food of man; palatable, wholesome, and capable of being used agreeably in more modes of cookery than any other grain. It is also the best food for all the domestic animals; and is preferred to any other by such as are wild and are yet granivorous.

Our corn lands will usually yield more wheat than rye, by the acre.

Both the barley and oats have less weight and value than in more northern climates. Barley, however, is much less injured than oats.

Peas in the southern half of New-England are cultivated in the field only as food for horses and cattle; being generally injured by the bug.

Millet is very little attended to, less, I think, than it deserves.

The flax cultivated here is always intended to ripen. The quantity of seed sown upon an acre rarely exceeds two bushels. The stalk is large and branching; the bark, or coat, rigid and dark coloured; and therefore in the several processes of curing, dressing, and bleaching, more liable to fret and break than that of Ireland or Germany. These inconveniences are, however, perfectly unnecessary, as experiments have abundantly shown. Less flax is raised now than formerly. Flax seed is a valuable article of commerce.

Hemp has lately excited the attention of our farmers in earnest. At Long Meadow, in the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts, at Enfield, in Connecticut, and at some other

places in the neighbourhood, it grows luxuriantly; and is undoubtedly the most profitable crop which can be raised. It is not injurious to the soil in any uncommon degree; and may therefore be made an object of permanent and extensive husbandry. The apprehension, that it will not grow, except in a peculiar soil, is unfounded.

New-England abounds in medicinal and other plants, the species of which appear to the eye literally endless. Hopes are now reasonably entertained that the public will, ere long, be gratified with an account of them*.

The native quadrupeds of this country have been so often enumerated and described, that it would be trifling with you to mention them again. It is commonly asserted by the zoologists of Europe, that America, by a mysterious and malignant influence, derived from I know not what, and exerted I know not how, diminishes the size and deteriorates the qualities of all animals, both native and imported. I beg leave to assure you, that New-England comes in for no share of this charge. To an American it is amusing enough to see how far your writers have imbibed an opinion, which in its own nature sets probability at defiance. In Guthrie's Geography the following declarations have gone through fifteen editions:—"The caribou is the largest native animal in America, and is no bigger than a calf a year old." "The elk is a native of America, and is as big as a horse." Now whether a calf a year old is in Great Britain as big as a horse, or not, the editors of this work will undoubted claim a right to determine, to which I can make no pretensions, since I have never seen a British calf exactly of this age. In this country a horse is certainly much larger than such a calf; and hence I venture to conclude, that the caribou is not the largest native animal of America. Certainly he is not so large as the elk. I should judge from looking at this animal, of which I have seen several, that he would weigh from one thousand to eleven hundred pounds. The moose, which is only a variety of the same kind, will probably weigh fourteen hundred pounds. A catalogue has been published by the

* A considerable catalogue of those which are natives of the township of New-Haven has been published by Dr. Ives, Professor of Botany in Yale college.

Rev. Dr. Williams, in his History of Vermont, which very strongly illustrates the soundness of this philosophy. It is the following:—

	Weight in Europe.		Weight in Vermont.	
	lbs.	oz.	lbs.	oz.
The bear	153	7	456	0
Wolf	69	8	92	0
Deer	288	8	308	0
Fox, red	13	5	20	0
Porcupine	2	2	16	0
Martin	1	9	5	4
Polecat	3	3	7	8
Hare	7	6	8	0
Rabbit	3	4	7	0
Weasel	2	2	12	0
Ermine	8	2	14	0
Flying squirrel	2	2	10	0
Beaver	18	5	63	8
Otter	8	9	29	8

The weight of these animals in Europe is given by M. De Buffon, and will therefore not be questioned. That of the American animals is given by Dr. Williams, and may of course be regarded as undoubtedly just. You see that the comparison is not a little unfavourable to the eastern continent. If any conclusion is to be drawn from it, America is much more favourable to the growth of animals than Europe. At the same time you will remember, that the white pine and the cypress of this country are giants, in comparison with the trees of the eastern continent. What if we should turn the tables on you, and insist that your continent is grown too old to yield the productions of nature in their full size, while ours young, if you please, certainly vigorous, nourishes them to a state of comparative perfection? Besides, were you once to behold the skeleton of our mammoth, you would be struck with astonishment, and regard the animals of Europe as a collection of pigmies.

There was last year raised in a town bordering on this, an ox of the common breed, generally named the small breed, in distinction from a larger heretofore common in this country, estimated by skilful judges to weigh alive three thousand five

hundred pounds. There was also, a few weeks since, killed in this town a hog, which weighed more than eight hundred and fifty pounds.

To give you my own opinion on this subject, I readily believe, that on both continents, if you choose the proper climate, species, and food, you may raise any of these animals to its full size. In the view of a sober American the contrary opinion, though dignified by the name of philosophy and made the subject of grave discussions of grave men, ranks with the stories of Lilliput and Brobdingnag, and would be readily supposed to have had its origin in the island of Laputa.

I ought to add, that we have hardly any wild animals remaining, besides a few small species of no consequence, except for their fur. Bears, wolves, catamounts, and deer, are scarcely known below the forty-fourth degree of north latitude. The wild-cat is still found in a few instances. Foxes are not uncommon; but hunting with us exists chiefly in the tales of other times.

No subject of natural history in New-England is, perhaps, less studied by its inhabitants than its ornithology. To me, particularly, it is very imperfectly known. I shall make no attempt to form a catalogue of the numerous birds which either inhabit or frequent this country. For the best information which can be obtained I shall refer you to Catesby, Bartram, Belknap, Morse, and others; and shall only make a few observations on such parts of this subject as have been occasionally suggested in the course of my own experience*.

The bald eagle (falco leucocephalus) is a bird of very great strength, size, and fierceness. The following account will give you some idea of this animal.

"Hanover, Vermont.

"A remarkable bird was last Saturday killed by Henry Nevins, of this town. It was upwards of three feet in height. Although it weighed but twelve pounds, it was judged sufficiently stout and bold enough to have attempted, and even destroyed, the lives of calves, sheep, and lambs. Its wings,

* Since this was written, Alexander Wilson, Esq., of Philadelphia, has published a splendid and very copious account of American birds. This work would be an honour to any country.

extended, measured seven feet eight inches, and its claws were two and one fourth inches in length."

A few years since a bald eagle was killed at Brookfield, in the county of Fairfield, which measured between the extremities of the wings almost nine feet. He had killed a calf the same morning.

This formidable bird is so inclined to solitude as not often to be seen, except at a distance. He builds his nest on high mountains, or solitary islands, or in other lonely places, where there is little danger of being disturbed. He is much less than the condor, but, I think, more vigorous; and, when roused to violent exertion, more terrible.

Birds of prey in this country are of many kinds; yet, if we except the common or hen-hawk, they are few in number. It is a remarkable fact, that the king-bird, or bee-eater, is an overmatch for any of them. This little animal, possessed of a sharp beak, unrivalled activity, and a spirit equally unrivalled, boldly attacks every other bird, and is always secure of victory. It is not a little amusing to see an enemy, so disproportioned in size and strength, vanquish the crow, the hawk, and the eagle. While on the wing he always rises above them; and, at short intervals, darting upon them with wonderful celerity, pierces them with his bill on the back and neck so painfully, that they make no efforts but to escape. Whenever they alight, he alights immediately over them, and quietly waits until they again take wing. Then he repeats the same severe discipline, until satisfied with victory and revenge he returns to his nest. This bird is an excellent defence of a garden against every enemy of the feathered kind.

The crow is easily taught to speak; as easily and as well, I believe, as the parrot, and, what is perhaps singular, to laugh. This is a very mischievous bird, whether wild or tamed. When wild, it roots up the young maize, to come at the seed. When tame, it pilfers and flies away with almost every thing which it is able to carry.

Among the singing-birds, the cat-bird, the brown thrush, and the mocking bird, hold a conspicuous place. They are all imitators; the mocking-bird the most perfect, and remarkable for having, as is said, no notes of its own. The number of its borrowed notes cannot, perhaps, be defined. The cat-bird

and the thrush have native notes in an almost endless variety; and not a little resemble each other in their manner of singing. The cat-bird is, perhaps, the most sprightly; the thrush has the most melodious voice.

The spring-bird, the meadow-lark, and particularly the robin red-breast, sing delightfully. There is, however, a bird incomparably superior to either, and to all other birds in this country, in the sweetness and richness of its notes. I am unable to describe it minutely, having never been sufficiently successful in my attempts to approach it, to become thoroughly acquainted with its form and colouring, although I have seen it often. It is a small brown bird, scarcely so large as the robin. Its notes are very numerous, and appear to be varied at pleasure. Its voice is finer than any instrument, except the Æolian harp. What is remarkable in this bird, and I believe singular, is, that it sings in a kind of concert, sometimes with one, and sometimes with two of its companions. When two of them unite, the voice of one is regularly elevated *a third greater* above that of the other. When there are three, the third raises his voice *a fifth* above the first, and of course *a third* less above the second. In this manner a given set of notes is repeated alternately by them all at equal intervals, and with inimitable sweetness of sound; forming, it is believed, the nearest approach to harmony found amongst the feathered creation. I have named this bird *the songster of the woods.*

Turkies, grouse, partridges, quails, and pigeons, are the land birds principally coveted at the tables of luxury. The wild turkey is very large and very fine; much larger and much finer than those which are tame. They are, however, greatly lessened in their numbers, and in the most populous parts of the country are not very often seen. Grouse are not common. Water fowl exist in greater numbers, and many of them are esteemed dainties. The wood duck is one of the most beautiful of all birds, and remarkably delicious. I have caught and tamed them without difficulty.

Among the reptiles of New-England the rattle-snake seems to have been made an object of more attention, in Europe, than any other. This animal has there been commonly supposed, but erroneously, to be very dangerous to man. His bite is, indeed, a strong poison; but is both certainly and easily

cured. Besides, he is so clumsy, as to be avoided without any difficulty. His whole progress is formed by coiling himself up, and then stretching himself again at full length. These snakes have, therefore, long since ceased to be objects of anxiety. They are also rare, except in some solitary places.

The ring-snake is long, slender, and black, with a white ring round its neck. This animal, when running, raises his head and about half his body, in a perpendicular position; and in this posture moves with very great rapidity. These snakes are very rare and not venomous; but are said, in solitary instances, to have wound themselves closely round the limbs of persons, falling asleep carelessly on the ground in forests.

There are a few other animals of this class, which are venomous; but they are either so rare, or so inefficient, as scarcely to be thought of by the inhabitants of the country.

It has been often said, that snakes have the power of fascinating birds. The following account concerning this subject may not be unacceptable to you. It was communicated to me by a student of Yale college, and deserves entire credit.

As this young gentleman, together with some companions, was walking one morning through a grove, in the summer season, they heard a bird scream in an unusual manner. Upon examination, they found a blue jay flying in a horizontal direction, about fifteen feet from the ground, from a certain tree; and, after having extended its flight about thirty rods, returning again to the same tree. Its excursions, however, became in every instance shorter, and its flight at every return was directed to a particular part of the tree. This naturally led the young gentlemen to search for the cause of so remarkable a phenomenon. They found in that part of the tree a large black-snake, extended upon a limb, at the height at which the bird flew. Curiosity induced them to continue their observation, until the bird became nearly exhausted, and appeared to be on the point of becoming a prey to its enemy. One of the company then threw a club into the tree, and thus diverted the attention of both the snake and the bird. The charm, if I may be permitted to use this language, was immediately dissolved, and the intended victim escaped without any difficulty.

I know not that the insects of New-England are remarkable

either for their variety, numbers, or malignity. The hornet, wasp, and humble-bee, are natives of many countries. They exist, but do not abound here. The honey bee I consider as a native of this country; since it was found in the forests too early, and at too great distances from European settlements, to have been derived from importation. This useful insect is cultivated to a considerable extent, although, I think, much less than both convenience and profit would lead us to expect. It often lodges in hollow trees in our forests, and is regularly hunted and discovered by men skilled in this business. As the white clover abounds everywhere, the honey made here is of the most pure and perfect kind, and might easily be increased to any quantity. The blossom of the buckwheat, to which the bee betakes itself in the latter part of the season, yields honey of a disagreeable taste.

The mosquito is, I observe, bitterly complained of by your countrymen, and not a little dreaded by such of them as visit America. An opinion has extensively spread among them, that this insect is more injurious to them than to the native Americans. How far the opinion is just I am unable to determine. When I lived at Greenfield, an English gentleman, a Mr. Morewood, came to my house from Stratford, where he had been stung by one of these insects on the wrist. In a short time his arm was so swollen, that it became necessary to rip the sleeve of his coat in order to take it off. No other disagreeable consequence followed the sting, except the apprehensions which it occasioned and a small degree of pain. This is the only instance in which I have known the bite of a mosquito followed by any considerable swelling of the part affected. These insects are not numerous in most parts of New-England. Such maritime towns as have salt-marshes in their neighbourhood, are not unfrequently troubled with them in hot and moist seasons, particularly when the wind blows directly from the marshes. This, however, is not universally true; for during more than thirty years, in which I have resided in New-Haven, they have given the inhabitants no trouble, except in three or four instances; and very little except in one.

Of the Hessian fly I shall take notice hereafter.

The locust of this country differs essentially in its qualities from that of the east. It appears regularly every seventeenth

year, and does sometimes a little mischief to some of the forest trees, but none of any consequence. Beyond this, it seems to be perfectly harmless.

Generally, there are fewer noxious animals of any kind in New-England, than in most countries on the eastern continent.

The fish in the waters of New-England are proverbially numerous, and many of them delicious. Our principal shell-fish are lobsters, crabs, oysters, round and long clams, escallops, and several kinds of muscles: all of them, except perhaps the last, very fine food. Of other fish I shall take a future opportunity to give you a particular account.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Climate and Seasons. North-West Winds. Opinions relative to the Causes of these Winds examined. Facts proving that the Climate has not become milder. Successive Periods of Cold and Heat. Causes of the Cold produced by the North-West Winds.

DEAR SIR,

THE climate and seasons of this country have long been a topic of investigation in Europe, and have excited not a little attention among its own inhabitants. Had the European philosophers been possessed of the facts necessary to a thorough acquaintance with this subject, it is probable that some of them, at least, would have conducted their speculations in a more satisfactory manner. The great distinction between the climate of New-England and that of European countries lying in the same latitudes, *i. e.* of the countries lying between Oporto, Barcelona, Naples, and Constantinople, on the south; and Buda, Munich, Brisac, and Port L'Orient, on the north, is the peculiar coldness of its winters. The heat of our summers may be somewhat greater than that of these European countries. The cold, at times, is unquestionably much greater.

There is also, as I believe, another considerable distinction between the climate of this country and that of those which I have compared with it; to wit, that the changes from heat to cold, and from cold to heat, are more sudden and violent. Here, at certain seasons, the thermometer indicates, in some instances, a change of more than thirty degrees in less than twenty-four hours. I have known it sink forty-eight degrees within that period. The thermometer, of which I speak in these letters, will always be that of Fahrenheit. The changes throughout most parts of Europe are less sudden, and not so excessive. Both these peculiarities of our climate are chiefly

attributable to the winds, which blow between north-north-west, and west-south-west, styled generally, but with some impropriety, the north-west winds.

These winds have been often attributed by European philosophers to "the great lakes, which lie in the interior of North America." To this opinion there are several unanswerable objections.

The first is, that the country in the immediate neighbourhood of those lakes enjoys a milder climate than those which lie at a distance from them, eastward, in the same latitudes.

The second is, that these winds, in many instances, do not blow in the direction from the lakes to the countries visited by them in their progress to the Atlantic. The coldest wind, felt in Connecticut, is that which blows from the west. This I shall describe hereafter. But this wind would scarcely brush the southern shore of Lake Erie, the southernmost limit of all these waters. A north-west wind, here also, would only pass over the eastern end of Lake Ontario. A north-north-west wind, and those which blow between that point and north, would strike no part of these lakes in their passage to Connecticut.

A third objection is, that the countries lying far in the interior appear everywhere to enjoy a milder climate than those which lie within three hundred miles of the Atlantic.

The fourth objection is, that winds blowing in the same directions, with respect to the countries lying south of New-England, are universally colder than any others. This is true to the southern limit of the United States. But it is impossible, that, throughout this tract of country, the lakes should have even the remotest influence.

A second cause, to which the coldness of these winds has been attributed, is "a chain of high mountains, running from the south-west to the north-east," in Canada and New-Britain, at a great distance beyond the river St. Lawrence. To this opinion the first objection is, that the existence of any chain of mountains of sufficient extent and height, to have any perceptible influence on the climate of so remote and so extensive a country, is at the best problematical.

Secondly, the winds in question do not come from this quarter to most of the countries where they blow.

A third opinion is, that "the numerous ever-greens in this country" are the source of the peculiar cold which it experiences.

The author of this opinion is, I believe, Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, a gentleman, whose good sense, candour, and accuracy of observation, entitle all his opinions to respect. Nor have I the least doubt, that it is the tendency of ever-greens to increase the coldness of that portion of the atmosphere by which they are surrounded. Still, I feel myself obliged to object to it, as here alleged. For,

In the first place, the number of ever-greens is altogether too small, in this country, to produce so extensive an effect.

Secondly, their location is such, as to render it impossible, that they should produce the cold felt in many parts of this country. Ever-greens abound in many parts of the district of Maine, and, I presume also, in the province of New-Brunswick. In the northern parts of New-Hampshire, they exist over a considerable extent of country. In Vermont they are not very numerous, nor in the state of New-York, except on high mountains. In no other situations do they prevail any where in Massachusetts. I except the pitch pine, which exists in moderate quantities on the plains, mentioned above, and in a few other places. The same observations apply with still more force to Connecticut, and the countries south and west, if we except the pitch pine, which is the common growth of the great plain, extending from East-Jersey to Cape Florida; and on this plain, and it is believed on all others covered with the pitch pine, the climate is more mild than in most other places in the same latitudes.

Thirdly, these winds traverse the country at the rate of thirty, forty, and fifty miles an hour; and are certainly not less cold on the western than on the eastern side of ever-green forests.

Fourthly, the west wind, which is the coldest wind in Connecticut, sweeps no such forest of any extent.

A fourth cause, to which the peculiar cold of this country, and, by inference, these winds, also, are attributed, is, "the forested state of the country." The abettors of this opinion do not hesitate to assert, that the cold has already decreased, and that the seasons have plainly advanced in a considerable

degree towards the mildness of the corresponding latitudes in Europe.

It cannot be denied, that the extensive forests of North America have some influence on the climate. Yet I am far from being satisfied, that this influence is correctly estimated by those, who hold this opinion. A forest always excludes a part of the sun's rays from the ground, on which it stands, and, when in foliage, a great part. If snow falls at an early season, it will, of course, remain undissolved on forested ground, until the atmosphere be sufficiently warm to effect its dissolution. Hence, in many cases, the first considerable snow will, in a forested country, become the commencement of winter; when, if the same country were generally open, the same snow would be wholly dissolved by the immediate action of the sun, and the winter, in the appropriate sense, would commence at a later period. On forested grounds, also, the snow will lie later in the spring, for the same reason. Hence, in a country formed of such ground, spring will begin at a later season. Thus the summer half of the year must in such a country be somewhat shorter than if the forests were removed.

Another effect of removing the forests will be a free passage of the winds, and among them of the southern winds, over the surface. This, I think, has been an increasing fact within my own remembrance. As the cultivation of the country has extended farther to the north, the winds from the south have reached distances more remote from the ocean, and imparted their warmth frequently, and in such degrees, as, forty years since, were in the same places very little known. This fact, also, contributes to lengthen the summer, and to shorten the winter, half of the year.

But the same cause opens also a free passage for the winds from the north and west; and these occasion, principally, the cold in this country. Calm weather here is rarely severe for any length of time. The sun is always sufficiently near to soften the atmosphere in a still day. Indeed, were it not for the wind, snows would lie but a very little time. But a violent westerly wind in the winter season is always cold. To admit these winds, therefore, must be to increase the severity of the climate: this, however, must be, universally, the consequence of an extensive dismantling of the forests; and to such a degree as

will, I fear, more than balance all the softenings of the temperature, which can be rationally expected from this source. These observations are peculiarly applicable to forests of ever-greens.

As to the opinion, that the climate has already become milder, and is gradually advancing towards the mildness of the European climates in the same latitudes, I can only say, that I doubt the fact. Indeed, the observation of this subject has been so loose, and the records are so few and imperfect, as to leave our real knowledge of it very limited. Within my own remembrance no such change has taken place. It is unquestionably true, that very severe seasons existed in the early periods of New-England, and it is equally certain that they exist now. The winters of 1780, 1784, 1788, and 1805, were probably as severe as those of 1641 and 1696; and the snow, which fell in 1717, was, I am persuaded, not so great as that which began to fall on the 20th of February, 1802. In 1641, and 1696, sleighs and sleds crossed the harbour of Boston, and some of them went down on the ice to Nantasket, nine miles. In 1780, the British dragoons passed from New-York to Staten Island, a distance of ten miles. In 1784 the Sound was frozen entirely across at Fairfield; where it is eighteen miles wide. The effects of the cold on the apple trees and peach trees were, in 1788, greater, in the county of Fairfield, than are recorded of any other period. The western sides of the apple trees were, in many instances, killed to a considerable extent; a fact unprecedented within the knowledge of any living inhabitant; and the peach trees were destroyed in very great multitudes; a fact, which rarely, if ever, from the same cause, takes place in a single instance. The Sound was, indeed, not frozen; but the reason was obvious. The wind blew violently, with hardly any intermission, either by night or by day. The water was, of course, too much agitated to admit of its being frozen. In streams and ponds, thicker ice was, I believe, never known in this country. In 1792 the Sound was frozen at Fairfield about five weeks. The snow, in 1717, fell six feet deep. It fell to an equal depth, in Northampton, in 1740. From February 21, 1802, it fell during the principal part of a week. It ought rather to be called hail, for it was a mixture of hail with snow, in which the former predominated, and was so dense, that it contained more than double the quantity of

water usually found in the same depth of snow. Had it been snow only, it would, at least, have been eight feet deep.

So far as I have been able to make myself acquainted with the subject, about which, however, accurate information cannot be obtained, there have been here, and not improbably throughout the world, certain periods, in which the seasons have for a considerable time assumed a milder temperature, succeeded by others, in which they have been more severe. Such I suppose to have been the fact on the other continent, as well as on this. In examining, some years since, a long-continued register of mortality, collected by Mr. Webster, I observed, that the whole time, which it occupied, was divided into sickly and healthy periods. These consisted, each, of between ten and fifteen years. The winters from 1779 to 1790, inclusive, were universally severe; and all the summers, except that of 1779, were cool. From 1791 to 1803, inclusive, all the winters, except those of 1792, 1798, and 1799, were mild, and all the summers hot. Accordingly the maize, which is a good thermometer for measuring the aggregate of heat during a season, was, throughout the former period, with the above exception, indifferent; and, in the latter, yielded great crops. From the year 1804 to the present time (April 1810), the winters, except the last, have been universally cold, and the summers cool. The summer of 1804, and that of 1809, were the two coldest which I remember. In the month of July, 1804, although it contained almost all the hot weather of the season, snow fell in Salem and its neighbourhood; and there was a considerable frost in several parts of the country; facts, which have never occurred, during the same month, at any other time within my knowledge. You will observe, that I always speak of the winter as belonging to the year, which commences during its progress.

During the first of these periods, many of our countrymen supposed our climate to have become colder than it was formerly. During the second, it was generally declared to have become warmer. Few persons remember the state of weather for any length of time. Few, if any, registers were kept in former times; and few (all of them imperfect) have been published, except from week to week in newspapers, or other fleeting vehicles. Hence the comparisons of our present

climate with that of former periods must be extremely defective, and can convey little instruction; while they produce, of course, very erroneous apprehensions concerning the subject.

The first of the periods, mentioned above, was remarkably healthy; the second remarkably sickly; the third generally healthy, though less so than the first*. Hence I suspect, that the healthy and sickly periods, which appear on the registers collected by Mr. Webster, were alternations of cool and warm periods; the former being the healthy ones, the latter sickly. Hence also, I suppose, that the weather of this country, and probably of others in the northern temperate zone, perhaps throughout the world, may be distributed into such periods of comparative heat and cold. This course of things I attribute to the great and general revolutions of the atmosphere.

* Since this was written, the cold temperature of the season has continued to the present time (1815); but the healthiness of the country has not been parallel with it. A new disease, generally named the spotted fever, has, within the last seven years, ravaged a considerable part of New-England, and some other parts of the United States. In January, 1812, the spurious peripneumony, a disease which has always existed in solitary instances, but, within my knowledge, has never prevailed extensively, made its appearance in New-Milford, in Connecticut; and, during that season, spread through a considerable part of the counties of Litchfield and Fairfield, and of Dutchess and West-Chester, in New-York. In the summer it disappeared; but the following autumn it commenced its ravages at Buffaloe Creek, in the north-western limit of New-York, and at Burlington in Vermont about the same time. In the course of that season, and the following winter and spring, it spread through a great part of these states, New-Hampshire, a small part of Massachusetts, a great part of Ohio, and a considerable part of Connecticut, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. In 1814, and hitherto in 1815, it has spread extensively over Virginia.

In most places where this disease has appeared, its ravages have been great, particularly among those who were in the prime of life. Heads of families, especially men, have been swept away in numbers unprecedented; and more children have been made orphans than at any preceding period since the country was colonized. There is little reason to doubt, that it will pervade the Union. All the summers since 1805 have been cold and wet, except that August and September in 1813, and July 1815, were hot, and the former dry. With these exceptions only, vegetation has been visibly imperfect; and most of those productions which are the food of man seem to have been ill-prepared to become healthful nourishment. This fact may not improbably have contributed both to the prevalence and malignity of both these diseases.

The winds, which generate the peculiar cold of this country, are, in my own opinion, derived, principally, from a source very different from all those which have been specified, and descend, in most cases, from the superior regions of the atmosphere. My reasons for this opinion I will now proceed to state.

It is well known to men of information, that in the latitudes above 30°, the prevailing winds are those from the west. This is undoubtedly a part of those extensive atmospherical revolutions which I have mentioned. The winds in and near the torrid zone blow generally from the east. By this phraseology I intend the points westward and eastward of the meridian. The atmosphere may be considered as preserving by these two great motions its own equilibrium. This general tendency of the winds to blow from the west is, in the American Atlantic States, not a little increased by their local circumstances. The ocean in the winter is, for obvious reasons, warmer than the land, and therefore occasions a continual pressure of the land atmosphere towards it. At a moderate distance from the coast, the Gulf stream, an immense current of water, so warm as during the winter to send up a vast and very copious evaporation, both visible and invisible, and to occasion continual and very important changes of weather, runs from Cape Florida to Newfoundland, with a gradual divergency from the shore. The air over the ocean, and peculiarly over the Gulf stream, will naturally ascend, being warmer, and therefore lighter, than that over the land. That over the land will, of course, move into the region, from which this ascent takes place, and thus will produce a westerly wind. As this operation is continually going on, there must necessarily be a very frequent succession of these winds. Such is the regular state of facts. If these winds blow across the American continent, it is easily conceivable, that they must of course blow, also, across a considerable division of the Pacific Ocean. The consequence of these facts would be, that they would come to the eastern shore, fraught with whatever degree of cold was accumulated by the atmosphere, over the region which lay in their progress. A farther consequence would be, that whatever warmth they acquired on the Pacific Ocean, they would communicate first to the countries along the western shore, and then, in speedy succession, to all the countries between that and the eastern.

A third consequence would be, that they would be moist and chilly; and a fourth, that those which blew from the north-west and north would be colder than those which blew from the west. But none of these facts, unless perhaps the first, actually takes place. These winds are all uncommonly dry. Those which blow from the west are colder than any other; and the warmth, which they could not fail to acquire from the Pacific Ocean, is never experienced on the eastern coast. As these winds frequently blow in the winter from thirty to forty, and sometimes to fifty miles in an hour, they would pass over this continent, in the latitude of New-England, where it is about two thousand seven hundred miles wide, in two, three, and four days. In this period, especially when twice or thrice repeated, the warmth could not fail to be perceived. But in the year 1780, the wind blew from the west more than six weeks, without any intermission; and during the whole of this time was so cold, that the snow did not dissolve sufficiently to give drops from the southern eaves of houses. In 1791 a west wind began to blow on the 10th of November, and continued to blow till the 11th of January; the weather during the whole time being intensely cold for the season, and the frost being uninterrupted. The three last days the mercury stood at five, eight, and eleven, degrees below cypher. In 1787 the same wind began to blow about the 20th of November, and continued its progress, with only four short interruptions, until the 20th of the following March; somewhat more than one hundred days. During this whole period, the weather was, for the season, very cold. On the third Tuesday in February, the mercury sunk to fourteen degrees below zero; lower than it is known to have fallen at any place on the Sound, except once, since the settlement of the country.

I began to form the opinion, that these winds descended at times from the superior regions of the atmosphere, from the following occurrence. I was standing on Greenfield Hill, where I then lived (a natural observatory, commanding an extensive and unobstructed horizon), and watching the phenomena of the heavens in a summer afternoon; when I was struck with the appearance of a very small dark cloud, distant from me about four or five miles in the west. I perceived that it became rapidly more and more dark, and increased with equal rapidity in its size. Speedily after I fixed my eye

upon it, it began to move with a considerable velocity toward the south-east; enlarging its dimensions and deepening its hue every moment of its progress. Within a few minutes it emitted a flash of lightning, succeeded by a peal of thunder; and within a few minutes more, a stream of rain, continually increasing, descended from its skirts. The lightning and thunder soon became frequent, and the cloud speedily assumed all the usual appearances of a thunder-storm. The meridional line, upon which I stood, it crossed, several miles to the south; and by the time that it had traversed half the breadth of the Sound, a distance of fourteen miles from Greenfield Hill, it extended over a fourth or fifth part of the horizon.

During the whole day the wind had blown from the south-west, and continued to blow in the same direction, on the surface, throughout the afternoon, without a moment's intermission. But had the wind which carried the cloud, when it passed over the regions south-west of Greenfield, swept the surface, the progress of the south-west wind must, for some time at least, have been entirely stopped. This, however, was not the fact, even for a moment. Of course, during this part of its progress, the south-west wind blew beneath the cloud; while that which drove the cloud blew, in the first part of its progress, only in a superior region, and did not strike the earth until it came near to the Sound. These phenomena, so far as concerns this subject, I saw several times repeated during my residence in Greenfield. Nor have I a doubt, that this is the most usual rise and progress of thunder-storms; almost all of which rise in the north-west, and are originated by a wind blowing from that quarter, and continuing to blow from one to four days, like those of the winter.

In the summer of 1809, a thunder-storm passed over New-Haven from the north-west with great rapidity. It continued, as I judged, from an hour to an hour and a half. But, although the clouds moved rapidly to the south-east, a south-west wind blew the whole of that day; and, while the thunder-storm was over head, blew with great violence. This plainly would not have been possible, had not the stream of air, which moved these clouds, proceeded through the atmosphere at some distance from the earth*.

* I saw the same facts again repeated in the summer of 1810.

On Wednesday evening, October 15, 1799, Mr. Day, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Yale college, and myself, being on our return from a journey of several weeks up the Mohawk and the Hudson, lodged at Pittsfield. The weather during the whole of our journey, as well as before, had been extremely mild, except that a very light frost, on the evening of the 4th, had changed in a small degree the annual foliage through a tract along the Mohawk of about fifteen miles. Throughout the day, on which we arrived at Pittsfield, a strong and warm south-west wind had blown unceasingly. At nine o'clock in the evening a furious blast came from the north-west, and in an instant changed the temperature of the air to a severe cold. A violent rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning, fell for an hour. At ten the rain ceased, and we went out to examine the face of the heavens. The clouds had become broken, and we discerned with perfect distinctness the inferior stratum, moving rapidly from the north-west; a second, immediately above it, moving from the south-west; and a third, still higher, moving from the north-east; the stream of air from the south-west having been forced from the surface by that which carried the thunder-cloud.

The next morning, the degree of cold was strongly indicated by the brilliant white of Saddle Mountain, covered with snow, by the less perfect white of the Green Mountains and the Taghkannuc; and by the icicles, which, not less than ten inches in length, we saw depending from the eaves of the houses on our route. This intense cold was produced within the compass of little more than an hour, during which time the north-west wind blew at the rate of from thirty to forty miles. The south-west-wind of the preceding day was obviously a general wind, and spread over a great extent of country. The weather throughout the whole of the preceding summer, and the autumn to that time, had been warm. A north-west wind, therefore, had it blown along the surface for a considerable distance, would have been colder than the south-west, only because it was more violent, and this fact would have varied the temperature very little. The north-west air, which first visited Pittsfield, must have been that which rested on the earth between this town and Albany; the next hour, the volume between Albany and Johnstown; and the next, that between

Johnstown and Whitestown. The whole of this division of the atmosphere cannot have differed sensibly from that which we found at Pittsfield, when we arrived. In this case, the cold, if it had existed at all, as it must have been the result of a wind blowing for a considerable length of time, and over a great extent of country, would have come on gradually. But the actual cold was instantaneous and intense. The storm brought with it the snow and frost, and deposited the whole mass of snow, which on Saddle Mountain must by the appearance have been from six to twelve inches deep, within the compass of an hour. This wind, therefore, certainly came from the higher regions of the atmosphere.

Similar facts I have observed in many instances; although I do not remember any, in which the particulars were so strongly marked.

On Christmas day, in the year 1794, a fresh wind blew from the south-east during the whole day, and was so warm as to be uncomfortable. The following evening, about eight o'clock, a violent blast from the north-west began at Greenfield, and just about the same time at New-York. It was so cold as to freeze, during that night, Mill river*, at the Narrows, where the stream is rapid, so hard, that it was crossed on the ice the next day by foot passengers; a fact, which was not known to have taken place, when the frost had operated for so short a time, within sixty years. The same day horses were led over the Hooestennuc, on the ice, at Derby. On the same day, also, foot passengers walked across the Susquehannah, at Havre de Grace, where the river is a mile and one fourth in breadth. Soon after I was very credibly, and I presume correctly, informed, that the same blast commenced at Norwich, and at Boston, about two o'clock in the afternoon. This could not have happened, if the wind had merely swept the surface of the earth, for Norwich lies seventy travelled miles eastward of Greenfield, and Boston one hundred and fifty-eight. From New-York, Norwich lies eighty miles eastward, measured on a parallel of latitude, and fifty miles northward on a meridian; and Boston one hundred and twenty eastward, and the same distance northward; the oblique distance, as travelled, being about two hundred and ten.

* In Fairfield.

This opinion is also strongly supported by the facts, that the westerly winds are generally much cooler than the temperature of the atmosphere immediately preceding, and that this change, in a great proportion of instances, exists almost instantaneously. These facts would, I think, be impossible from the mere movements of that volume of air which rests on the surface.

These winds are purer than any others; a fact universally remarked throughout this country. During their prevalence the lungs are feasted and the frame invigorated, in such a manner as is never experienced at any other season. Their influence on plants, also, is entirely peculiar. It is customarily said, by those who have long cultivated tobacco, that its leaves are perceptibly thicker and heavier, after a north-west wind has blown two or three days, than at any other time; and such a season is considered, by skilful cultivators, as the best for cutting this plant. When grass has been mowed at such a season, I have observed the scythes to be covered with its juice, so thick and viscid, and adhering so tenaciously to the scythe, as to oblige the mowers to employ the whetstone, not for the sake of giving the scythe an edge, but to remove the glutinous substance with which it was covered.

During the prevalence of these winds, wood burns more rapidly, and with a more vivid flame. The flame, also, makes frequently a small explosion (if I may be allowed the term), resembling strongly that of a musket, discharged at a very great distance.

All these facts, as it seems to me, are easily explicable on the supposition, that the north-west winds have their origin in the superior regions of the atmosphere. If this opinion be admitted, we cannot, I think, be at a loss for reasons why they are instantaneously, and in the winter severely cold; why they commence with violence and terminate suddenly; why they are remarkably pure and healthy; why in a singular manner they facilitate combustion; why they are wholly free from terrene exhalations; why, in many instances, they condense clouds immediately vertical, some time before they are perceived to blow on the surface; why they carry clouds, at times, toward the south-east, without interrupting at all the blowing of a south-west wind, and why in the month of March, during which the westerly winds almost regularly prevail, all

kinds of wood shrink, and become dry, in a greater degree, than in the most intense heat of our summer sun.

Particularly, the peculiar degree of cold, experienced in this country, seems to be explicable on this ground only. Every man, accustomed to read even newspapers, knows that the air, at a moderate distance from the earth, is usually much colder than near the surface. This fact has been so often proved by ascending high mountains, and by rising into the atmosphere in balloons; and is so evident from the ice and snow, always visible, even under the equator, at great elevations, that few persons are ignorant of it. Every degree of cold experienced in this country, must naturally be expected from winds, which have their origin in a superior region.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Climate of New-England continued. Account of the most remarkable Tempests which have been known in this Country. Thunder Storms. Droughts. Enemies to Vegetation.

DEAR SIR;

I WILL now proceed to some further observations on the climate of New-England.

The north-west winds usually blow from one to four days. Sometimes, but rarely, they blow through this period, and through the succeeding quarter of the moon, ten or eleven days in the whole. In the year 1792, a north-west wind blew twenty-one days: a longer period than I have ever known in any other instance. Almost always they slacken, or intermit, about sun-set. When they terminate, the sky begins to be overcast with clouds, which in common seasons descend in rain or snow. In many instances, however, they are followed by the south-west wind, which blows usually one day, and is succeeded by rain. In a drought the process is the same; except that rain or snow does not follow. The west wind, blowing, as you may remember, from west-north-west in the morning, west at noon, and west-south-west at evening, is very rarely followed by rain, or by a cloudy sky. It is the driest of all the winds, which blow on this continent. In the years 1787 and 1788, it blew, as I have observed, from the 20th of November to the 20th of March. During this period there were four instances only of falling weather, and then the wind veered into the north-west, and blew one day, in each instance, immediately before the snow. In the summer of 1796, the west wind blew for three months, and no rain fell of any consequence through the whole of this period, I have mentioned, that in the winter this wind is colder than any other. The summer just mentioned was the hottest which I ever knew.

There is, however, a remarkable exception to these observations. The thunder clouds in this country are blown usually by winds, varying from north-west to west, and continuing commonly one, sometimes two, and very rarely three days. A small number of thunder-storms come to us from the south-west, and are generally highly charged with the electric fluid. I have known two or three preceded by a south-east wind, and even by a dead calm; but almost always they are preceded by a south-west wind. The north-east wind, by which I intend one that blows between north-north east, and east-north-east, is frequent in this country, and in many instances very tempestuous. A north-east storm, in some instances, sweeps the coast from Newfoundland to Cape Florida, and is much more extensive than any other. Its ravages sometimes on the land, as well as on the ocean, are dreadful. All the convulsions of the atmosphere seem to be more violent in the southern states than in New-England. The most violent general tempests, known in this country, were those of the 15th of August, 1635; the 12th of March, 1761; the 8th of September, 1769; the 19th of October, 1770; the 18th of August, 1778; the 19th of August, 1804; and the 9th and 10th of October, 1804. Two of these, to wit, that on the 15th of August, 1635; and that on the 19th of August, 1804, were from the south-east, the others from the north-east. In all these buildings were unroofed, others were blown down, considerable tracts of forest were levelled, and extensive damage was done to shipping. The ravages of that on the 9th and 10th of October, 1804, seem to have been more extensive on the land than any other. On the 15th of August, 1635, the tide rose twenty feet perpendicularly at Boston.

A south-east wind blows frequently, and sometimes with very great violence. Generally it is followed by rain, except in the spring, and sometimes even then. At that season it is often chilly and piercing, and in the summer almost always cool, but not very frequent. In the winter it is universally warm. Rain from the south-east rarely lasts more than eighteen hours, and is usually violent. In two instances I have known it continue two days.

The south-west is the prevailing and pleasantest wind of the summer. Immediately after a north-west, it is in the

winter chilly; but, after continuing a little while, always becomes warm. On the southern coast of New-England it is rarely so hot as to be disagreeable. It may be regarded as the zephyr of this country.

The most violent general north-west winds, which I remember, blew on the night of 17th of March, 1796, and on the night of the 17th of January, 1810. The latter of these sunk the mercury, in the thermometer at New-London, forty-eight degrees in twenty-four hours.

The thunder-storms of this country, generally so styled because a considerable number of them are actually storms, are in most cases equally beneficial and delightful. An immense grandeur invests them during the time of their approach. They are so frequent in ordinary seasons as to furnish an ample supply of rain for the demands of vegetation. The wind which brings them, and which blows one or two days after they have passed over, is remarkably pure, refreshing, and healthy. The earth, particularly in the months of May and June, the richest season of vegetation, is beautiful beyond description. The verdure glows with new life — the flowers exult with additional beauty and fragrance —

> "The birds their notes renew; and bleating herds
> Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings."

The sun, in the mean time, beams through the purified atmosphere with a peculiar splendour. One, and often two rainbows are finely painted on the reverse of the departing storm. The clouds in the western regions, wrought into the boldest figures, and tinged in different places with all the elegant hues of the prismatic image, present to the eye mountains with summits of gold, and precipices of fire.

To these storms the people of this country owe their general exemption from drought, which seems so much more frequently to afflict those of the eastern continent.

Droughts are unfrequent in this country, compared with many others. In forty-eight years there have been six of considerable severity; in the years 1762, 1763, 1782, 1796, 1805, and 1806. There are very few others, I know of but two on record, previous to these. That in 1763 was very severe. A famine was never known since the country became able, by its

own cultivation, to supply its inhabitants with food; nor indeed, except in two or three instances, any such scarcity as to create serious apprehensions.

The most considerable inconvenience, with regard to crops, has been the Hessian fly, which made its first appearance in New-England in 1787; entering the county of Fairfield from that of West-Chester, in the state of New-York, and advancing about twenty miles in a year.

The other principal enemies of the crops are the palmer-worm, which in the year 1770, the only time of its appearance, which I remember, devoured extensively the grass, wheat, and rye. It spread over a great part of the country, and was stopped in its progress only by death, or by ploughing a trench before it, up the side of which it was unable to climb; the small particles of earth yielding to its feet, and falling with it into the trench. This worm was a caterpillar nearly two inches in length; striped longitudinally with a very deep brown and white; its eyes very large, bright, and piercing, its movements very rapid, and its numbers infinite. Its march was from west to east. Walls and fences were no obstruction to its course, nor indeed was any thing else, except the sides of trenches. It destroyed, rather than devoured, ascending a stalk of grass, or grain, cutting it off in a moment, and, without staying to eat any part of it, rapidly repeating the same process on all which stood in its way. The meadows, where it most abounded, appeared as if they had been mown with a dull scythe; and the grain, as if it had been reaped with a sickle which had gaps, and therefore had cut the stalks in a scattering, slovenly manner. In some places, immense multitudes of these animals died in the trenches, which were formed to stop their progress, and were left uncovered. The mass soon became fetid, and loathsome; and was supposed, in several instances, to produce a fever, usually distressing, and sometimes fatal.

The canker-worm appeared first in the year 1666, and with small intermissions, perhaps with no absolute intermission, has continued to the present time. The millers, which are the parents of these animals, come out of the earth in February, or March*, when the frost is sufficiently dissolved to set them

* They made their appearance, in 1814, in the autumn.

at liberty. As soon as they are out of the ground they ascend the trunk of the apple tree (the leaves of which are the food of their offspring), and deposit their eggs. They are hatched by the heat of the sun, usually in the first half of June. They continue on the trees about four weeks, in which time they entirely strip them of their foliage. Each then spins a web, by means of which it descends to the earth, and makes its way into the ground from four to ten inches. After this process is begun, it is terminated within two or three days. The only effectual method of stopping the progress of these animals, within my knowledge, is to make a swath of tar around every tree, three or four inches broad. This must be repeated at the close of every day, because the tar soon becomes so hard as to permit the miller to pass over it, and because they ascend in such numbers as very soon to form a bridge. The tar has been supposed to injure the trees. This, however, is a mistake. There are apple trees in North-Haven, which have been treated in this manner forty years, without the least apparent disadvantage. Some persons stop the progress of the miller by binding round the tree a bundle of straw. Several other methods have been tried; but the first of these only has been successful.

The peach-worm has been known here about fifty years, and is now become very common. This animal is a maggot, or grub, about half an inch in length, when of full size. The egg whence it proceeds is inserted by its parent-fly, usually within four inches of the ground. After the egg is hatched, the maggot makes its way to the neighbourhood of the surface, where it lives both upon the inner bark and the wood; and, if undisturbed, will destroy the tree, commonly within one, two, or three years. Whenever the worm has taken possession of the tree, it must be carefully picked out with a knife; and that part of the wood which is decayed should be cut away. The tree may then be effectually defended against this animal by a swath of ointment, composed of roll-brimstone and liver-oil, or hog's lard; or, in ground ploughed or dug, with a swath of tar, extending, in each case, four inches above, and two or three below the surface. The tree remains uninjured*.

* Two quarts of stone lime, thrown round the tree at the root, will defend it several years.

I have already mentioned the animal which attacks the plum tree, and the morello-cherry.

The white-grub has, at times, very extensively injured meadows and pastures, and, in a few instances, the maize. The chief enemies of this grain are, however, the crows and black-birds, which, in some parts of the country, pull up the young plant to come at the seed. But this is an evil of no great importance.

A much more serious one is the blast, which not unfrequently attacks the wheat, and sometimes the rye. This evil is derived from the too rapid growth of the plant, in the month of June, in consequence of which the juices, not finding sufficient channels to pass in the regular manner, break through the stalk at the sides, and especially in the neck. Hence the kernel fails of being filled, from the want of sufficient nourishment. When this juice exudes, it is sweet, and is thence mistakingly named a honey-dew.

A blast, also, can exist from mere leanness of soil.

Notwithstanding the ravages of all these enemies, it is probable, that no country abounds more in the food of man and animals than New-England.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER V.

Frequent Changes of Temperature. Pleasant Months. Seasons: time of their commencement. Variations of Thermometers. Atmosphere. Quantity of Rain.

DEAR SIR;

To the observations already made concerning the climate of this country, I will now add a number of others, which will be necessary, in order to furnish a complete view of it. My first subject shall be the weather.

Perhaps the greatest inconvenience, suffered by the inhabitants of New-England, is derived from the changes in the state of the atmosphere. I have mentioned an instance, in which the thermometer of Fahrenheit indicated a variation of forty-eight degrees of temperature in twenty-four hours. This was an extraordinary and perhaps a singular fact; but a violent north-west wind not unfrequently produces, within that period, a variation of more than twenty, and sometimes of more than thirty degrees. These frequent mutations are disagreeable, to say the least, and, it is believed, are injurious to health. The changes, also, from wet to dry, and from dry to wet, are at times frequent, unpleasant, and probably unhealthy. In some seasons they are also numerous.

There is no month in the year, which is not sometimes very pleasant, and sometimes disagreeable. Even March has within a few years been, twice, the pleasantest month in the twelve; and June, September, and October, have, within my experience, been dull and wearisome. I have in several instances brought in from my garden fresh-blown flowers on Christmas-day. Men have often ploughed, and boys played at ball, throughout every month of the winter on the border of the Sound.

If you take a series of years, our pleasantest months are June, September, and October. Often the first two, and not unfrequently the first three, weeks in September, are, however, disagreeably hot. From the 20th of September to the 20th of October, almost always, and during both these months ordinarily, the weather is delightful. The temperature is mild, the air sweet, and the sky singularly bright and beautiful. June will, I suppose, be generally thought a still pleasanter month than either of these. There are usually in this month a few days of intense heat. In all other respects, except the brilliancy and beauty of the heavens, which however are very fine, this month must be confessed to have the superiority over those last mentioned. The progress of vegetation is wonderful, and seems as if the creative hand was, in the literal sense, renewing its original plastic efforts, to adorn the world with richness and splendour. All things are alive and gay. "The little hills rejoice on every side. The pastures are clothed with flocks. The vallies also are covered with corn, and shout for joy." Health at the same time prevails in a peculiar degree. The air is pure and perfumed. The finer vegetables and fruits of the garden abound, and are in the highest perfection, and the world appears to enjoy its full release from all that was dreary and discouraging in the winter. The spring is not unfrequently chilled by sea-winds, and rendered uncomfortable by rains*. There are, however, many exceptions to this account; and when they exist, I think May pleasanter than June. The orchards are then for a fortnight universally in blossom. The verdure is peculiarly vivid. The young leaves of the forest

* The north-east wind sometimes brings with it snow at late periods of the spring. In the year ——† there was a remarkable instance of this nature. On the 8th of February blue-birds sung very cheerfully; on the 3d of March there was a frost; on the 4th a frost with a south wind; on the 6th snow fell three inches deep at New-Haven, ten at Wolcott, and twelve at Goshen; on the 7th the ground was frozen one-tenth of an inch; on the 9th and 10th the ground was also frozen, and there was ice during the three last days on the surface of water, in tubs and other vessels.

† Probably the year 1802.—*Pub.*

trees are finely fragrant, and very beautiful. Flowers in the gardens and fields display their gayest hues, and general health is spread through the country. These cheerful things commonly result from the prevalence of a south-west wind.

The seasons in this country usually commence, the spring about the 20th of March; the summer about the 20th of June; the autumn about the 20th of September; and the winter about the 20th of December. The heat of summer has, at New-Haven, raised the mercury twice in fourteen years to 90° and twice to 91°. All these were in 1798, the summer of which I have already mentioned as the hottest within my knowledge. The days were the 2d and 3d of July, and the 8th and 9th of August. My thermometer is placed upon a wall hung with paper, on the north side of the house, and in a room, admitting the freest passage of the external air; which, however, does not blow directly on the instrument. A thermometer, hung on the outside of a building, measures the temperature of the atmosphere variably and incorrectly. If it be exposed to the reflection of the sunbeams from ground, not covered with verdure, the mercury will rise at noon in a clear day ten degrees; if over sand of a light hue, twelve or fifteen; if over verdure, five: and it will vary in this manner from that of a thermometer, hung opposite to it on the same wall within the house, exposed to the freest circulation of the air. In a cloudy day, the mercury will stand in both at the same point; and in a clear day before 7 A. M. and after 5 P. M. It is more owing to the different positions of thermometers with regard to this reflection, that we have so many varying accounts of the temperature in the same places, and at the same times, than to the different structures of the thermometers themselves. In a small number of instances I have known the mercury stand at 89, 88, 87, and 86; and this only for three or four hours in the middle of a single day. Every summer it may be expected to rise above 80. In the summer of 1778, the heat was intense for seventeen days; commencing on Wednesday the 24th of June, and terminating on Friday, the 10th of July. The summer of 1798 was generally very hot, and during four weeks intensely. These two seasons of heat were much longer continued, and more severe,

than any other which I have known*. Generally the climate of this country is sufficiently hot to bring melons, peaches, and other fruits demanding a similar temperature to perfection. The large maize of Carolina ripens here in a hot but not in a cool summer. That of Virginia, called here the gourd seed corn, ripens very well and yields plentifully, but is little cultivated. Even the proper maize of New-England, commonly styled the yellow flint corn, the heaviest and richest of all the species, yields, when the summer is generally cool, but an indifferent harvest.

Were our atmosphere equally moist with yours, the most intense heats of our sky would scarcely be tolerable. They are now, indeed, at times burthensome, but never prevent the farmers from pursuing their labour. In the hot season of 1778, mentioned above, although by my habits of living very little accustomed to exposures of this nature, I rode a journey of three hundred and fifty miles on horseback, without suffering any serious inconvenience.

The winter is rarely so cold as to hinder the farmers from pursuing their labour. To me, and to most other sedentary persons, the winter is less agreeable than the summer: to the active part of the community it is a season of better spirits, and more enjoyment, than any other. Travelling, which is then performed in sleighs (in England called sledges), is both more convenient, and more pleasurable, than in the milder seasons. There is also more visiting and more gaiety. At the same time the produce of the country is principally, and most easily, conveyed to the market. The most tedious and disagreeable winters which we ever have are those which are warm and at the same time moist. Your countrymen who reside here inform us, that they are like the winters in England. To us it seems that nothing but habit can make them agreeable.

The atmosphere of New-England is very pure and the sky peculiarly bright. By comparing our own Meteorological Journals with those of Europe, it appears that we have much

* There were three short periods of intense heat in the summer of 1811, although the season was generally cool. During three days of the first week in July, the mercury in a thermometer, placed in such a situation as that mentioned above, rose to 90 and 91, at two o'clock P. M.

more fair weather, and many more days of clear sun-shine, than the countries on that continent, Russia excepted. Mr. Day, professor of mathematical and natural philosophy in Yale college, informs me, that at New-Haven, on the margin of the Sound, he annually finds many more evenings fitted for advantageous astronomical observations than were found by Herschell. Still we have much more rain. It is computed in England, that the quantity of water which falls in rain annually is thirty-one inches, and in dew five. According to a register, kept during twenty-seven years by the Rev. Mr. French, of Andover in Massachusetts, the annual quantity of rain varied there from forty-eight to fifty-two inches. A considerable part of this is derived from thunder-showers.

The seasons of successive years differ greatly from each other. The summer in which the greatest quantity of rain fell within eighty years, was that of 1795. Throughout ten weeks, commencing from the middle of June, it rained during a greater or less part of half the days. The peas in the pod germinated six inches, and several other seeds proportionally. Some of the tender plants and fruits were dissolved. At the foot of small descents in the road, where the ground is usually firm, the horse of the traveller sunk as suddenly and as deeply, as in the most miry places at the breaking up of the frost in February and March: a fact never known before nor since. The three wettest years in succession, within my knowledge, were 1807, 1808, and 1809.

Vegetation commences here at very different periods in the spring. The peach-trees blossomed four weeks later in 1780 than in 1779, and in 1810 vegetation was at least a week later than in 1780. Asparagus, from 1791 to 1804, was upon an average fit for cutting as early as the 17th of April; since that time it has been ten days later. Green peas have been gathered often the last week in May. One year my family gathered the first on the 17th of June. During the first period mentioned above, the species of maize, called sweet corn, was regularly fit for use by the 15th of July. Since that period it has not reached this perfection sooner than the 5th or 6th of August. These facts will sufficiently indicate the variety of our seasons, so far as vegetation is concerned, and the warmth from which it is derived.

From the compass of cold and heat, involved in the climate of New-England, its inhabitants derive that variety of vegetation, with which their gardens, fields, and forests, are replenished. Oranges, if the trees are kept in the house during the cold season, ripen in a warm summer without any difficulty in the open air: they are however insipid. In one instance a pine-apple has been brought to perfection in the same circumstances. Grapes of Malaga and Madeira flourish, and are fine fruit.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VI.

Healthfulness of New-England. Longevity of the Inhabitants. Principal Diseases. Epidemics. Tables, shewing the comparative Healthfulness of New-England and some of the Southern States. Observations respecting the Longevity of the Inhabitants in the Large Towns.

DEAR SIR;

NEW-ENGLAND is the healthiest country in the United States, and probably inferior in this respect to few in the world. In most parts of Europe the chances of living to five years of age, seem by the most common computation to be one to two: whereas in New-England, by the best computation I have seen, the chance is one to two of living to seventeen. At Northampton, the shire town of the county of Hampshire in Massachusetts, it appears from a register of thirty years, that one out of every four who died survived the age of seventy. At Concord in Middlesex, also in Massachusets, of 222 who died in the period of thirteen years, 97, almost $\frac{1}{7}$ of the whole, exceeded the same age. The number of inhabitants at this time was between 1,600 and 1,700; and the number in Northampton in the period referred to nearly the same. These are probably as favourable specimens of this nature as any, which could be produced in New-England.

It has been commonly supposed, that men do not live to so great an age in New-England as in Great Britain, Norway, and Russia. Whether this opinion is just it is impossible to determine. The inhabitants of New-England, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, were estimated by Dr. Humphries, secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at one hundred and twenty thousand. This number I consider as too large. Dr. Trumbull, whose means of knowledge were greatly superior to those

of Dr. Humphries, states them at forty-five or fifty thousand. They may have amounted to eighty thousand; and this is probably very near the truth*. The diseases and other sufferings of the first colonists, and the losses sustained in Philip's war, and in that with the Narrhagansetts, must have sensibly checked the progress of population. At the same time the fears and sufferings of the inhabitants, scarcely interrupted for a day, discouraged marrying. Eighty thousand then may be fairly assumed as the whole number, from which must be derived the list of those, who at the commencement of the 19th century had reached the period of 100 years. At the same date there were in Great Britain about eight millions: one hundred times the population of New-England. To make the two countries equal in this respect, one hundred persons must have arrived at this age in Great Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for one in New-England. Whether there is any British Register, from which an estimate may be correctly made of the longevity of your people, I am ignorant. No such register exists here. Our newspapers announce every year the death of a considerable number of persons, whose age has exceeded that period. It must, however, be acknowledged, that no New-Englander has reached the age of Jenkins or of Parr. A Mr. Cobb, of Kingston in the county of Plymouth, survived 107 years. Mrs. Adams, of Litchfield in Connecticut, 104. Ephraim Pratt, of Shutesbury in the county of Hampshire, died at 117†.

* Anno 1711, Admiral Walker, upon the Canada expedition, demanded of the government of Massachusetts'-Bay a supply of sailors. The governor and council represented, that their ordinary garrisons, forces upon the inland frontiers, and men detached for the Canada expedition, were upwards of two thousand men; which are more than one-fifth of the fencible men of the province.—*Douglass's Sum. Hist.*

According to this representation, the fencible men of Massachusetts were less than ten thousand. The fencible men in New-England may be considered as one-fifth of the inhabitants. According to this account, then, there were less than fifty thousand inhabitants in Massachusetts'-Bay. But this province contained, at that time, more than one-half of the inhabitants of New-England. Hence it seems to be rationally concluded, that the whole number of people in New-England, in 1700, did not exceed eighty thousand.

† A Mr. Gillet of Augusta (Maine) voted, May 1812, in the election of governor at the age of 123. He died at the age of 124.

The principal diseases of New-England are the dysentery; the typhus, bilious, remittent, and scarlet fevers; the pleurisy; the peripneumony; the croup, or angina trachealis; the cholera infantum; the chronic rheumatism, and the pulmonary consumption*. The gout is rare, and the stone almost unknown.

Of these diseases, the most extensively fatal is the pulmonary consumption. The causes of its prevalence are both natural and artificial. The natural causes are the severity, and especially the frequent and sudden changes, of the weather. The artificial ones are intemperance, prevailing to a considerable extent among people of the lowest class, and unhappily not altogether confined to them; a sedentary life, continued to such an extent, and so much unaccompanied by exercise, as to leave the constitution too feeble to resist the attacks of a cold; leaning forward, on the part of students, clerks, and several classes of mechanics, such as goldsmiths, shoemakers, weavers, &c.; of many also of the female sex, when engaged in sedentary employments, especially between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two; and dressing in few and thin garments, in the severe seasons. Unfortunately for us, we derive our modes of dress, and our amusements also, from the inhabitants of milder and more equable climates. Our own, as I have remarked, is subject to frequent, and those violent changes. A young lady, dressed a la Grecque in a New-England winter, violates alike good sense, correct taste, sound morals, and the duty of self-preservation.

Three epidemics are recorded by Dr. Holmes as having spread through New-England. The first was a fever, called by Hubbard a pestilential fever. It is said to have spread through the whole American continent, and to have reached the West-Indian islands. From five to six thousand died of it in St. Christopher's, and about the same number at Barbadoes. The colonists of every nation, and the aborigines, suffered alike. This disease began in 1647.

In 1655, a fever, similar to that just mentioned, swept New-England.

In 1735, the scarlet fever, of a very malignant type, made

* Since the year 1807 a new disease, called the spotted fever, has ravaged several parts of the New-England states, and of New-York.

its appearance in the month of May, at Kingston, in New-Hampshire; and extending itself westward and southward, passed through all the British colonies. Two years elapsed before it reached the Hudson. In several places it destroyed a great number of young persons. This disease has not unfrequently appeared since that time, and in some instances has occasioned a considerable mortality.

In 1775, 1776, and 1777, the dysentery, commencing the first year at Cambridge, and the second at New-York, in the American army, among soldiers perfectly raw, and wholly incompetent to take care of themselves, spread through a great part of southern New-England, and proved fatal to a multitude of the inhabitants. The sick soldiers were in very many instances carried home by their friends; and communicated the disease not only to them, but to many others. Between the years 1793 and 1799, the yellow fever prevailed successively in most of the commercial towns in the United States.

The measles appear in some part or other of this country once in every few years. The influenza, also, has spread through it several times within the last twenty years.

The healthiness of New-England may in a general manner be estimated from the increase of its inhabitants and its emigrants. The inhabitants of New-England amounted in the year 1810 to 1,471,973. In the state of New-York the emigrants from New-England fall little short of 550,000; and in the other states, and in Canada, may be moderately estimated at 100,000; in all 2,121,973.

To give you a view of the healthiness of New-England, compared with some of the southern states, I present you with the following estimate, in which I select Connecticut as a representative of the other New-England states. To this I suppose there can be no objection. In the year 1800 there were in this state, under ten years of age, free white males 37,946. These I shall make the ground-work of my estimate; and in the following table shall show you the degree of probability, here furnished to mankind, of living to old age, so far as it is discoverable by the periods assumed in the census. The numbers at the remaining periods I shall set down; and under them the numbers, denoting the excess, found by subtracting them severally from this original number.

STATES.	Under 10 years of age.	From 10 to 16.	From 16 to 26.	From 26 to 45.	45 and upwards.
	FREE WHITE MALES.				
In Connecticut	37,946	19,408	21,683	23,180	18,976
Excess	.....	18,438	16,263	14,766	18,970
In Virginia	92,127	40,820	49,191	50,815	30,442
Excess	.....	51,307	42,936	41,308	61,685
In North Carolina	63,118	27,073	31,560	31,209	16,688
Excess	.....	36,045	31,558	31,909	46,430
In South-Carolina	37,411	16,156	17,761	19,344	10,244
Excess	.....	21,255	19,650	18,065	27,167
In Georgia	19,841	8,469	9,797	10,914	4,957
Excess	.....	11,372	10,054	8,927	14,884
	FREE WHITE FEMALES.				
In Connecticut	35,736	18,218	23,561	25,186	20,827
Excess	.....	17,518	12,175	9,550	14,909
In Virginia	86,993	39,148	51,209	50,819	34,179
Excess	.....	47,845	35,784	41,308	52,814
In North-Carolina	59,074	25,874	32,989	30,665	17,514
Excess	.....	33,200	27,095	28,409	41,560
In South-Carolina	34,664	15,857	18,145	17,236	9,437
Excess	.....	18,807	16,519	17,428	25,227
In Georgia	18,407	7,914	9,243	8,835	3,894
Excess	.....	10,493	9,164	9,572	14,510

The first observation to be made concerning this table is, that in the state of Connecticut the number of free white males under ten years of age is 37,946, and of free white females under the same age, 35,736; leaving an excess on the part of the males of 2,210. From ten to sixteen the number of males is 19,408; and of females, 18,218: leaving an excess of 1,390. From sixteen to twenty-six, the number of males is 21,683; and of females, 23,561: leaving an excess on the side of the females of 1,878. Of males, between twenty-six and forty-five, the number is 23,180, and of females, 25,186: leaving an excess on the side of the females of 2,006. Of the males, of forty-five and upwards, the number is 18,976, and of females, 20,827: leaving an excess in favour of the females of 1,851. Here you will observe, that in the two first periods the males outnumber the females, during the first period, by an excess of 2,210; and during the second, of 1,390: the latter the larger excess, in proportion to the numbers from which it is derived. During the three remaining

periods the excess is on the side of the females: during the third, of 1,878: during the fourth, of 2,006: and during the fifth, of 1,851. Through the two first periods there is an excess of males above females, which in proportion to the original number is 2,210. The reason why, during the three last periods, the females exceed the males in number, is the superior number of emigrants among the males in the period from sixteen to twenty-six. This number is made by an addition of the former excess in the number of males to the subsequent excess in the number of females. If we take the two nearest numbers, 1,390 and 1,878, the sum will be 3,268. This, however, will fall short of the truth. Still I will assume it, because it is the least number, and because it is less than the truth. This number I will add to the number of males during the three last periods; because, though these persons were not in Connecticut in the year 1800, they were still the children of Connecticut parents, and were then living. The number of males then belonging to this state, were,

From 16 to 26	24,951
— 26 to 45	26,448
— 45 and upwards	22,244

You will remember, however, that this number falls short of the truth.

From all these observations are deduced the following results. Among those, who are born in Connecticut, the chances for living to the several periods specified (that is, to some time in those periods), are compared with those born, and living in the four southern states, the following.

STATES.	MALES.				FEMALES.			
	From 10 to 16.	From 16 to 26.	From 26 to 45.	45 & upwards.	From 10 to 16.	From 16 to 26.	From 26 to 45.	45 & upwards.
	AS							
In Connecticut ...	$\frac{19}{20}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ +	$\frac{3}{4}$ —	$\frac{3}{4}$ —	$\frac{4}{7}$ —	$\frac{1}{2}$ —	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{5}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$ +
In Virginia	$\frac{4}{5}$ —	$\frac{5}{9}$ — $\frac{4}{9}$ +	$\frac{5}{9}$ —	$\frac{3}{5}$ —	$\frac{5}{11}$ —	$\frac{11}{17}$	$\frac{8}{17}$ +	$\frac{2}{5}$ —
In N. Carolina...	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ —	$\frac{1}{2}$ +	$\frac{1}{4}$ —	$\frac{5}{17}$ +	$\frac{11}{30}$ +	$\frac{1}{2}$ +	$\frac{7}{13}$
In S. Carolina	$\frac{4}{5}$ —	$\frac{4}{5}$ +	$\frac{1}{2}$ +	$\frac{2}{7}$ —	$\frac{5}{11}$ —	$\frac{9}{11}$ +	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{5}{11}$ —
In Georgia	$\frac{9}{19}$ +	$\frac{9}{17}$ +	$\frac{10}{19}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{4}{9}$ —	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{9}$ —

A comparison of two articles in one of these tables will sufficiently explain the use of the whole. There are in Connecticut, of 45 years and upwards, females amounting to $\frac{1}{7}$ of the original number, or those under ten. In Georgia there are $\frac{2}{7}$. The chance of living to this period and upwards in Connecticut is to the chance in Georgia as 4 to 2, or 2 to 1.

You will observe, that at the close of these proportional numbers I have subscribed to some the sign +, to denote that they are somewhat greater, and to others the sign −, to denote that they are somewhat less than the true proportional number. The differences, however, on either side are so small as not to deserve attention.

Before I leave this subject, it will be proper to make a few remarks on another branch of it, which seems hitherto to have escaped investigation. The number of persons in our cities, who have arrived at an advanced age, is less than a stranger would expect to find, from the account which has been here given. To explain this fact, let New-York be taken as an example. In 1784 this city contained 18,400 inhabitants. In 1810, it contained 96,000. In these twenty-six years the original number of inhabitants was probably doubled, independently of the accession of emigrants. Among this original number we must look for nearly all the aged people now to be found within the limits of this city; for neither the progeny of the original inhabitants, nor the remaining 60,000, consisting of immigrants and their progeny, can have arrived at old age; almost all these immigrants becoming such between twenty and thirty years of age. What is true of New-York, in this respect, is to some extent true of all the flourishing trading towns in this country *.

* No correct account concerning the state of American longevity, nor indeed any other than can be accidentally picked up, can be given, at least by any means within my reach. From three newspapers, the Connecticut Mirror, the Vermont Washingtonian, and the Boston Centinel, including three numbers of the first, one of the second, and five of the last, I found in the year 1813 the following instances. It was my intention at that time to pursue the subject to some extent. Circumstances, which need not be mentioned, induced me, however, to lay it aside.

MIRROR, March 1.

	Age.	*Place of abode.*
Mindwell Adams (descendants, 150; living at her death, 119) . .	92	Canton, Conn.

MARCH 7.

	Age.	*Place of abode.*
Content Langworthy (she read the Bible twice through after she was an hundred years old)	105	North-Stonington, Conn.

MARCH 14.

Matthew Williams (his recollection was admirable till a short time before his death)	124	Frankfort, N. J.

The two last instances were in 1814.

WASHINGTONIAN, MARCH 1, 1813.

Joanna Smith	105	Newington, N. H.
George Palmer (a free man of colour, born in Virginia)	121	Georgia.
Edward Warrener	93	Springfield, Vt.

BOSTON CENTINEL, MARCH 17, 1813.

John Waldo	91	Harlem, Mass.
Mary Coffin	91	Gloucester, Mass.
Margaret Newman . . .	92	Boston, Mass.
Elizabeth Healy	98	Ditto ditto.

MARCH 20.

Dorothy Downer	97	Charlestown, Mass.

MARCH 31.

Martha Rhodes	96	Patuxet, R. I.
Elizabeth Mosher . . .	96	Burgrade.

APRIL 14.

Mary Fisher	101	Philadelphia.
Joseph Sawyer	92	Sharon, Conn.
John Gillet	124	Augusta, Maine.

Ann Heifer, a widow at Norwich, in Connecticut, died March 22d, 1758, in her 105th year. John Amos of Preston, in Connecticut, died about the same time, in his 101st year.

To these may be added the following:—Philip Chul, of Fairfax county in Virginia, born in Germany, 1699, came to America in 1721, and died in his 115th year. His wife, Elizabeth, died in her 102d year.

The following instances are from the Panoplist, 1810:—

	Age.	*Place of abode.*
Joseph Gifford .	100 and 1 day	
Richard Matthews . . .	103	Hart Co. N. C.
Mrs. Fisher	100	Wrentham, Mass.
Rachel Terry	101	Norfolk, Conn.
Prudence Gear,	101 and 10 months	Preston, Conn.
Mrs. Hixon	100	Portsmouth, N. H.
Mrs. Staples	103	Greenwich, N. Y.

	Age.	*Place of abode.*
Mary Sutton (she had five sons and seven daughters, all of them living at her death. Her descendants are said to be 1,492).	116	Gladenburg, N. C.
Isaac Tolman	106	Martinicus, Maine.
1811.		
Nathaniel Foot	100	Colchester, Conn.
Mary Sampson	103	Granby, Conn.
Eve Post	106	Philadelphia.
Phebe Norris	109	Ditto.
Ezra Dealph (formerly of Tolland, Conn.)	102	Hopkinton, N. H.
Abigail Barnes (leaving four brothers and two sisters, the youngest of whom is 77 years old)	93	West-Springfield, Mass.
Benjamin Connor	100	Exeter, N. H.
Hannah Slosson	101	Middletown, Conn.
Peter Davis	100	Hopkinton, R. I.
Lucretia Chamberlain	103	Amwell, N. J.
Mr. S. Rowley	101	Windsor, Conn.
Achor Wabley	106	Southampton, Penn.
Ann Chapin	101	Hadley, Mass.
Sarah Bishop	100	Stamford, Conn.
John Dunlap	100	Lancaster, Ohio.
Sarah Wheeler	100	Ipswich, Mass.
Isaac Cole	103	Plattsburgh, N. Y.
Alice Sherwood (she retained her mental faculties to the last)	100	Pompey, N. Y.
Thomas Merrill	100	Hartford, Conn.
1814.		
Alexander Keney (his descendants, 900)	106	Coventry, Conn.
MIRROR, 1815.		
Elizabeth Sawyer	105	Bolton, Mass.
Ruth Fansworth	100	Conway, Mass.
MIRROR.		
Sarah Beebe	108	Berne, N. H.
Esther Booth	99 and 11 months	Bridgeport, Conn.
Quashee (a black man in New York)	110	
1806.		

Martha, wife of Zachary, a Moheagan Chief, at Mohegan, Connecticut, 120 years.

Charleston, March 22, 1809.

LONGEVITY.

	Age.
There are now living in South-Carolina, Mrs. Jackson, a widow lady, on the high hills of Santee	110
Peter Carson, near Granville Court-House	107
Frederick Hooner, near Orangeburgh	102
William Atwood, in Abbeville	100
Mrs. Lane, near Statesburgh, who, on Sundays, walks ten miles to church, attended by her descendants to the fifth generation	95
Mr. Walker, near Dorchester	92
Amos Tims, aged 83, and his wife	91

The following persons have died in South-Carolina, since the year 1800:—

	Age.
Mrs. Newby, in Laurens	112
Mr. Minnick, near Edisto river	108
Margaret Dickson, in Abbeville	104
Rev. Jeremiah Ream, of Sumpter District, a preacher after he was 90	100
Abraham Jones, in Charleston	94
Mrs. Hopton, in Ditto	90

LETTER VII.

Earthquakes which have been known in New-England. Storms of Wind, Rain, and Hail.

DEAR SIR;

IT deserves particular attention in the examination of the meteorology of this country, that it is subject to very few of those violent convulsions, which are frequent in most parts of the world. You well know, that other parts of this continent are as much distinguished for the great convulsions of nature, to say the least, as any parts of the eastern. The ravages of volcanoes have been as terrible as in Iceland, Sicily, or Naples. Earthquakes, also, have in a long train of instances extensively laid waste Mexico, Peru, Terra Firma, and Chili. In the beginning of 1812, one of the most violent and fatal recorded in history, desolated a considerable part of the province of Caraccas, or Venezuela.

There are eight earthquakes recorded in the history of New-England. The first of them was on the 1st day of June, 1638, and is styled by Dr. Trumbull, "a great and memorable earthquake." His account of it is the following:—"It came with a report like continued thunder, or the rattling of numerous coaches upon a paved street. The shock was so great, that in many places the tops of the chimnies were thrown down, and the pewter fell from the shelves. It shook the waters and ships in the harbours, and all the adjacent islands. The duration of the sound and tremor was about four minutes. The earth at turns was unquiet for nearly twenty days. The weather was clear, the wind westerly, and the course of the earthquake from west to east."

Of the second, in 1658, nothing was said, but that it was a great earthquake.

The third, which in Canada was very violent, and continued

near half an hour, seems barely to have been perceived in New-England. This was in 1663, January 26th.

The fourth was on the 29th of October, 1727, and is thus described by Governor Hutchinson:—"About forty minutes after ten at night, when there was a serene sky, and calm but sharp air, a most amazing noise was heard, like to the roaring of a chimney when on fire, as some said, only beyond comparison greater; others compared it to the noise of coaches on pavements, and thought that ten thousand together would not have exceeded it. The noise was supposed to continue, with a gradual increase and decrease, about two minutes, and proceeded from the west to the east. At Newbury and other towns on the Merrimac river, the shock was greater than in any other part of Massachusetts, but no buildings were thrown down. Part of the walls of several cellars fell in, and the tops of many chimneys were shook off. The seamen upon the coast supposed their vessels to have struck upon a shoal of loose ballast." It shook the country for seven hundred miles in extent.

The fifth was on the 18th of November, 1755. Of this Dr. Holmes gives the following account:—"It began at Boston a little after four o'clock, in a serene and pleasant night, and continued nearly four minutes and a half. In Boston about one hundred chimneys were in a manner levelled with the roofs of the houses, and about fifteen hundred shattered and thrown down in part. In some places, especially on the low, loose ground, made by encroachments on the harbour, the streets were almost covered with the bricks that had fallen. The ends of about twelve or fifteen brick buildings were thrown down from the top to the eaves of the houses. Many clocks were stopped. The vane of the market-house was thrown down. A new vane of one of the churches was bent at the spindle two or three points of the compass. At New-Haven, the ground in many places seemed to rise like the waves of the sea; the houses shook and cracked, as if they were just ready to fall, and many tops of chimneys were thrown down. The motion of this earthquake was undulatory. Its course was nearly from north-west to south-east. Its extent was from Chesapeak Bay south-west, to Halifax north-east, about eight hundred

miles; but from north-west to south-east it reached at least one thousand miles, and perhaps many more."

The sixth and seventh were in March 1761, and in October the same year. Of these it is only recorded, that they were felt. Of the eighth it is said, a small earthquake was felt from New-Hampshire to Pennsylvania on the 29th of November, 1783. I remember two others; one in 1779: concerning the date of the other I have not a clear recollection.

Of these earthquakes it is hardly necessary to observe, that scarcely any harm was done by them. The amount of all was no more than to throw down the tops of some chimneys, and overset a part of the loose furniture in some of the houses. Not a building nor a vessel was destroyed, and not a life lost. A million of such earthquakes would not, together, be as great a calamity as that which destroyed Lisbon in the year 1755, or that which shook Calabria in 1783.

From volcanoes New-England is absolutely free. All that is known of this subject will be recited in these Letters. No determinate proofs of this terrible operation of nature have hitherto been discovered by any of our countrymen. If it has ever existed here, therefore, it must have been at a period sufficiently remote to allow of an entire decomposition of all those solid materials usually thrown out by volcanoes.

We are not equally exempted from storms. The first of these on record was in the year 1635. The following account of it is given by Dr. Holmes:—

"An extremely violent storm of wind and rain from the south-east, on the 15th of August, did great injury in New-England. Immense numbers of forest trees were destroyed. Many houses were unroofed, many blown down, and the Indian corn was beaten to the earth. The tide rose twenty feet perpendicularly. At Narragansett the natives were obliged to climb trees for safety; yet the tide of flood returning before the usual time, many of them were drowned."

The second, in 1751, is mentioned in these terms:—"A most violent storm of wind and rain, on the 23d of October, did great damage to the houses, stores, wharfs, and merchandise, and to the shipping of the harbour, i. e. of Boston."

The third was in 1804, and has been already mentioned in these Letters. It did much injury to the shipping in Boston, and other eastern ports. It blew down a part of the steeple of the church in Hollis Street (Boston), and, I believe, a small number of decayed buildings in different places. It also overthrew a great number of forest trees in several parts of the country.*

From the accounts, which I have seen in various instances of tempests in Europe, it is, I think, evident that their violence is greater on that continent than it is here. The quantity of rain, also, which has descended at times in Great Britain, Switzerland, France, and Germany, must have been much greater in particular tracts, than any thing which has been known here. The only mischief suffered here has been the loss of mills and bridges. There, in several instances, villages have been swept away, and a considerable number of people drowned. The greatest ravages, which I have known as the consequence of copious rains, were in February, 1806, and on July 22d, 1811. In the former instance a heavy rain fell in the beginning of February, and the ground being frozen, was almost all conveyed to the beds of the streams. A great number of mills and bridges were swept away; a greater number by far, than in any other instance. In the latter, the rain fell from twelve to fifteen inches between sunrise and ten o'clock, A. M., chiefly in Middletown, Castleton, Rutland, &c., in Vermont, and did much damage of the same nature. But, in neither was there, so far as I recollect, a single house or life destroyed.

These phenomena are much more violent as we advance southward, and appear to increase pretty regularly, at least to the latitude of Barbadoes. On the 7th of September, 1804, a storm from the north-east began at ten o'clock in the evening, and blew with great violence till one o'clock, P. M. on the 11th. In Charleston, S. C. and in the neighbourhood, many houses were blown; the wharfs, generally, severely injured; many

* Morton styles the first of these "the great storm, or hurricane," and says, "it broke the high pine trees, and such like, in the midst, and the tall young oaks and walnut trees, of good bigness, were wound as withs by it, very strange and fearful to behold." This appears to have been the most violent general tempest ever known in New-England.

vessels sunk; several beaten to pieces; others driven up on the land; and other damage done to a very great amount. The strength of this wind may be conjectured from the fact, that a large brick store, belonging to a Mr. Willimans, was blown down. No event of this kind, nor any thing which approaches near to it, has ever taken place in New-England, in consequence of a general wind.

The most formidable convulsions in the atmosphere, known in this country, are those which are called tornadoes. These differ in nothing from the common thunder-storms, except that they are more violent. Their breadth is rarely three miles, often not more than half a mile, and sometimes not more than a fourth. The blast in many instances becomes a whirlwind; and is sometimes sufficiently powerful to sweep buildings, trees, and other heavy objects, to a considerable distance. These tempests rarely last an hour; but, while they continue, ravage the tracts in their course in a terrible manner. Happily they are unfrequent. Two have passed over the township of Wethersfield within my remembrance; but I know of no other place which has been severely visited by them more than once. The greater part of our inhabitants have never heard of them, unless at a distance. Often they are accompanied by hail, a strong proof that they have their origin in the higher regions of the atmosphere; since in the summer, almost the only season in which they exist, the air near the surface is too warm by many degrees to admit of congelation. The existence of these hailstones at this season seems surprising: their size is certainly so. I have seen one, which, after having been exposed to the dissolving influence of a warm day near half an hour, was, as I judge, nearly three-fourths of an inch in diameter. What was left of it was a piece of transparent ice, irregular in its form, and rough as to its surface.

I have before me a paragraph in a newspaper, named the Raleigh Minerva, published in North-Carolina, in which it is asserted, that some hail-stones, which fell near the waters of Crab-tree in that state, measured, the next day, nine inches in circumference. Without insisting on the accuracy of this account, it may be observed, that they were sufficiently large to destroy windows, break the small branches of various trees, and destroy several kinds of small animals. In several instances

a single hailstone has been dissolved in a wine-glass, and filled it with water.

These storms are much more frequent in the southern states, and much more violent than with us; and both their violence and their frequency are increased not a little in the West Indian islands.

In an account before me, of the hurricane which ravaged Jamaica, October 2d and 3d, 1780, dated Montego-Bay, October 7th, it is said, that "many houses in that town were destroyed, together with all the smaller craft in the harbour, many sets of works and dwelling houses in the neighbouring country, and all the plantain-walks without exception. Throughout the whole parish of Westmoreland, according to the best calculation, not a dwelling-house, out-house, nor set of works was left standing. Three houses only were left in the town of Lucia; and only three, also, in the whole parish of Hanover; and not a tree, bush, nor cane, was to be seen. In the parishes of Montego-Bay, Savanna-la-mar, and *————; the damage was computed at one million sterling. A vast number of lives were lost also, and a vast multitude of vessels were destroyed." It is melancholy to remember how often these ravages are repeated in different parts of the Caribbean Sea.

In the year 1806, on the 19th of September, a tempest of this class passed over the townships of South Hadley and Granby, in Massachusetts, styled a most tremendous storm of wind, rain, and hail. The hailstones, which were at first small, increased ultimately to the size of a large butternut, and fell with such force as to drive broken glass, in some instances, eighteen feet from the windows, and lodge it in the opposite walls. It cut in pieces cabbages and melons, and killed several pigeons and barn-door fowls. Within a stone's throw of the church in South Hadley, more than one thousand squares of glass were broken, and several thousand elsewhere in the vicinity.

In the year 1813, on the 15th of July, a tornado passed over a part of the state of New-York, styled in the account given to the public the most awful phenomenon, ever known in that country; and said to have filled the minds of those who beheld it with horror and dismay. It passed through a small

* The remaining name was obliterated.

lake, and raised large bodies of water to a vast height in the air. Thence entering an orchard, it prostrated every tree in its course. It then overturned two barns, and carried the roof and some sticks of timber three hundred yards, lodging them in the tops of forest trees. As it ascended a hill, it removed from their beds several stones and rocks. It next tore up by the roots several large oaks and chesnut trees. Then it carried into the air, and scattered in fragments, another barn, some pieces of which were found at the distance of four miles. The last of its ravages was carrying away the corner of a kitchen, and injuring, in some degree, the house with which it was connected.

These two accounts (the only ones in my possession) will communicate to you sufficiently just conceptions of the tornadoes, which occasionally visit this country. The latter may be numbered among the most, and the former among the least violent of the tempests, designated by this name, which visit these states. The violence is certainly such as would any where excite terror; but is greatly inferior to that, with which tempests are usually accompanied in the more southern regions of this continent. Damage in effect resembling that, which is recited in these accounts, may be generally expected to be done in small districts, once or twice in six or eight years, especially if the summers are of a high temperature*.

* In September 1815, at the equinox, a storm began, which lasted several days, and, in its ravages in several parts of New-England, was more violent and destructive than any other which is upon record. Perhaps it may be questioned, whether its violence was greater than that mentioned by Morton, of which a short account has been given above. But as the country was then just beginning to be populated, there was but little to be destroyed, as there were very few to share in the destruction.

It blew a fresh breeze from the north-east on Wednesday. On Thursday the wind increased to a hard gale, and, in the following night, became a furious tempest. Throughout New-England, and all the eastern parts of the state of New-York, the rain fell in a deluge.

On Friday and Saturday, the storm blew with the greatest violence, particularly on the latter of these days, when, shifting to the south-east, and thence to the south-west, it became literally a hurricane. Its greatest fury was felt on the eastern coast from Portsmouth, and thence round on the southern to New-London. Within these limits many buildings were blown down, and many tracts of forest levelled. Several churches were either wholly or partially destroyed. That at Plainfield in Connecticut, particu-

Upon the whole, the course of nature in New-England is ordinarily as regular, mild, and undisturbed, as in most countries on the globe. The heat and cold of our climate are sometimes, and for short periods, intense; and the rise and fall of the mercury in the thermometer are sometimes more sudden than in any other regions. But nothing in our climate prevents life from being enjoyed pleasantly and long, or forbids a parent to expect, with well-grounded probability, that his children will live to cherish his old age, and accompany his remains to the grave.

I am, Sir, &c.

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lily, was entirely ruined. At Andover in Massachusetts, and various other places from twelve to sixteen miles from the coast, the rain was so brackish as to leave a thin covering of salt upon the windows; unless this fact is to be attributed to the spray, forced from the surface of the ocean by the blast, and driven over the land in the form of mist.

On Saturday, after the wind shifted to the south-east, the ravages on the southern coast exceeded every thing heretofore known in this country. Particularly from New-Bedford to New-London. Unhappily no correct and comprehensive account of the devastation has been given to the public, although, in many instances, the details were sufficiently minute. At this time the waters of the ocean had been raised to a singular height, by the long continued violence of the north-eastern blast, and, when it shifted to a southern direction, were driven upon the shore in a deluge. At Providence, where they were swollen to a still greater height by the narrowing of the river, and the consequent increased confinement of the shores, the shipping was almost entirely destroyed, or carried in upon the land. Several large ships were carried directly through the second story of the brick stores, standing on the margin of the harbour, and one was lodged in this situation. Others were left high up on the dry ground. Many buildings were destroyed; many more were greatly injured; an immense quantity of goods of various kinds was floated over the lower part of the town, and the scene of ruin was such as to beggar all description. Few lives were lost; yet many were in so much hazard, that their escape seemed miraculous.

The damage done to property was estimated at a million and a half of dollars.

At New-Bedford, Newport, Stonington, and New-London, particularly at Newport, the damage was very great. From New-London westward it decreased, and at New-Haven and New-York was inconsiderable.

LETTER VIII.

Soil of New-England. Misrepresentations relative to the Country and its Inhabitants. Forests; the manner in which they renew themselves. Husbandry. Produce of Different Crops. Defects in the Husbandry. Face of the Country beautiful.

DEAR SIR;

THE soil of this country has been not less erroneously estimated, than other parts of its character. The error has proceeded from various causes. An Englishman, when he finds the crops so inferior to those of his own country, readily attributes the fact to the poverty of the soil, when he ought to ascribe it to the inferiority of our husbandry. He does not know, that labour is here too high to permit the expensive cultivation of Great Britain, nor that the quantity of land possessed by the respective inhabitants is such, as by a much easier process to yield them sufficient means of subsistence. An inhabitant of South-Carolina, when he passes by our fields of maize, rising only to seven or eight feet in height, and compares them with his own, which reach fourteen or fifteen, attributes this difference to the sterility of the soil, and not, as he ought, to the different nature of the crop; and never mistrusts, and will hardly believe when he is informed, that our harvest of maize is usually twice, often three times, and not unfrequently four times as great as that of his own country.

The aborigines of New-England customarily fired the forests, that they might pursue their hunting with advantage, in a manner to be mentioned hereafter. The grounds, which were covered with oak, chesnut, &c. or with pitch pines, were selected for this purpose, because they alone were, in ordinary years, sufficiently dry. Such, to a great extent, were the lands in New-England, and they were probably burned for

more than one thousand years. The vegetable mould was of course destroyed. This mould is the manure, and ultimately the soil, of grounds long forested; and always yielding rich crops, even with very slovenly cultivation, ensures a high reputation to the lands on which it is copiously found. Of that reputation the lands in New-England were prevented in the manner above mentioned.

To all this it ought to be added, because it is true, that it has been a regular custom in Great Britain to caricature both the country and its inhabitants. Unfortunately for their reputation, the first colonists of New-England were Puritans, guilty of the double crime of being presbyterians and republicans. No class of mankind have had less justice done to them than this. The very name is even now a "sign to hate" and to despise. Few persons feel as if their character merited even an inquiry, before a final sentence of condemnation should be pronounced upon them. Nay, they are usually spoken of only as acknowledged objects of reprobation and contempt. A man, so eminently distinguished for superior powers of mind as Dr. South, could feel himself warranted, even in the desk, and while speaking in the name of God, to pour out upon them, whenever the subject came in his way, and often when it did not, such a torrent of indignant severity as a good man would naturally believe could be due only to infidels and jacobins. I have a high respect for Dr. South, and can read his sermons with pleasure, notwithstanding they are spotted with these unfortunate passages. But the passages I cannot justify. You will tell me, perhaps, that many of those, who rank themselves under this name, or at least who are ranked under it by their opposers, were vile men, and merited all this opprobrium. I do not deny the charge; but I object to this gentleman, and to the millions who have united with him in the obloquy, that they have uttered it indiscriminately, and without any apparent compunction involved the innocent with the guilty.

This subject many of your countrymen, as well as of mine, take up regularly with an uniform appearance of self-complacency and triumph. They plainly consider the case as no longer *sub judice*, the trial as ended, and the sentence as pronounced. Is it then more honourable to have derived one's

birth from men who followed in the sycophantic and brutal train of Charles II., the English Sardanapalus, who corrupted the British nation with a moral pestilence, than (to use the customary language of your country) to have sprung even from the whining, canting followers of the hypocritical Cromwell? Would a sober man, when looking back after his genealogy, congratulate himself more to find his forefathers crouching to the despotism of James II., and co-operating either by active efforts, or tame submission, with this wretched papist, or with his predecessor Laud, to re-establish popery in his native land, than to spy them out on the register of persecution, discover them in the purlieus of a prison, or wander after them into a foreign country, whither they had fled from the iron rod, to preserve an unreproaching conscience and a pure religion? Do you not believe, Sir, that many an Englishman reads with no small regret the declaration of Hume, that to the Puritans Great Britain owes the liberty, by which she is so honourably distinguished, and of which she boasts with equal complacency and justice? But enough of this subject for the present.

This oblique and unworthy opinion concerning the first colonists of New-England has regularly descended to their posterity, of every succeeding age. Nor does it merely involve persons. It reaches every thing, that is theirs; the very country, which they inhabit; and even the soil and climate of that country. The climate is supposed to be inhospitable, and the soil barren. So true is this, that a great number of sensible strangers, with whom I have conversed, have expressed to me their disappointment and surprise, at finding here so many beautiful villages, fruitful fields, flourishing towns, and other proofs of general prosperity. To say that all these spring from a barren soil, is to pay a compliment to the people of New-England, which her calumniators have certainly not well considered.

The soil of New-England, as you will readily believe, both from the extent of the country, and the preceding Letters, is very various. That part of it, which lies west of the eastern line of Connecticut, extended north-eastward till it strikes the western line of the district of Maine, is generally good, and most of it excellent. A considerable part of the tract, lying

east of this line, is also good; and some of it of a superior quality. Of the district of Maine it is remarked by General Lincoln, who was well acquainted with that country, that "a great proportion of the lands is arable, and exceedingly fertile." As I have travelled through a small part of it only, I am unable to ascertain this proportion. No account, which I have seen, has so much authority as this. I shall for the present consider it therefore as just, and shall reserve a more particular examination of this subject for a future Letter. According to it, you will perceive, that a great part of the lands in New-England is fertile. A countryman of yours, better informed concerning subjects of this nature than any other Englishman whom I have seen, observed to me some years since, that our soil was naturally quite as rich and productive as that of England. This gentleman was minutely acquainted with both countries. The moist lands yield hay and pasturage luxuriantly. Those which are drier are equally favourable to the different species of grain. Of this general character the thrifty growth and ultimate size of our forest trees are ample proof. Few of them, indeed, can now be found of this size: almost all the original forests of this country having been long since cut down. I have seen many of these trees, and have compared them with the accounts given of forests in many parts of the globe; and am assured, that they will very rarely suffer by such comparison. It may seem strange to you, accustomed as you are to see forest trees planted in great numbers, and preserved with great care, that the inhabitants of this country should so soon after its colonization have cut down their forests in this extensive manner. This is one of the ten thousand subjects, presented to the mind by the existing state of things here, about which a foreigner must necessarily misconceive. Should he travel through New-England, he would naturally conclude, that the forest trees failed of arriving at the size, which they attain in Europe. He would indeed see that they were tall, and apparently very thrifty, but small in the girth. I do not mean that they are universally so, but that this is extensively the fact throughout the southern division. For the reason of it he would be at a loss; and most probably would attribute it, notwithstanding the thrifty appearance of the trees, to sterility of soil; or, in the mystic

language of Buffon, to a deficiency of matter. Should he be informed, that the real cause was the age of the trees, almost all of which are young, his perplexity would be increased. On the one hand he would be astonished at the folly of destroying forests in this wanton manner, without any apparent reason; and, on the other, would be unable to comprehend how these forests renewed themselves without the aid of planting. All this is, however, easily explicable. The wood of this country is its fuel. An Englishman, who sees the various fires of his own country sustained by peat and coal only, cannot easily form a conception of the quantity of woods or, if you please, of forest, which is necessary for this purpose. To this quantity must be added the timber for the uses of building, in a country where almost all buildings are formed merely of timber, of fencing, furniture, and commerce, and a prodigious mass annually destroyed in the recent settlements for the mere purpose of clearing the ground. With these facts before him, he will cease to wonder that forests are very extensively felled in New-England. All these forests renew themselves. The seeds of forest-trees spring more readily and successfully when left on the surface, than when buried in the ground, even at a very small depth. They will not, however, germinate upon a sward. They demand a soil, loose and light. In this state the soil is always kept in forested ground by the leaves, deposited on the earth. These also supply the necessary moisture for germination, and effectually shelter the seeds, particularly the nuts and acorns, from the ravages of animals. In this manner, and by a process totally superior to any contrived by the human mind, forests are furnished by the Author of nature with the means of perpetual self-restoration.

But this is not the only mode, nor the most expeditious, nor that which is principally relied on in this country. When a field of wood is, in the language of our farmers, cut clean, i. e. when every tree is cut down, so far as any progress is made, vigorous shoots sprout from every stump, and having their nourishment supplied by the roots of the former tree, grow with a thrift and rapidity never seen in stems derived from the seed. Good grounds will thus yield a growth amply sufficient for fuel, once in fourteen years. A multitude of farmers, therefore, cut their wood in this manner; although

it must be confessed, there are different opinions and practices concerning the subject. In these two modes the forests of New-England become in a sense ever-living, and supply plentifully the wants of the inhabitants.

The husbandry of New-England is far inferior to that of Great Britain. It is, however, superior to that of any other class of people in the United States; unless the Germans, settled in the counties of Lancaster and York in Pennsylvania, and in the valley of the Shenandoah in Virginia, are to be excepted. I speak here of a body of people, not of individuals, nor of a little collection of persons on a small tract. With this cultivation the average produce of wheat in Connecticut is, by information on which I rely, fifteen bushels an acre, and that of maize twenty-five bushels. The greatest crop of wheat, which I have known in Connecticut, was forty bushels an acre; the greatest crop of maize, one hundred and eighteen. The quantity of wheat usually sown is one bushel and a half peck to the acre.

Wheat is sown with the broad cast. Maize is planted in hills, from three to four feet apart, in a manner resembling a quincunx. The number of stalks in a hill should be not more than four, nor less than three. The ground is afterwards broken, sometimes with a harrow, made in the form of a triangle, and sometimes with a plough, each drawn by a single horse. In stony grounds a larger plough is used, and is drawn by a yoke of oxen: the ground is then cleaned with the hoe. The process is repeated at least three times, and not unfrequently four; at the last of which the earth is raised to the height of from four to six inches around the corn, and is denominated a hill, whence every planting is called a hill of corn. The hill is made to give a better opportunity for the roots, which, when the stalk is grown to a considerable height, shoot from it several inches above the surface, to insert themselves in the ground with more ease, and less hazard of failure. These roots are called braces, because they appear to be formed for the sole purpose of supporting the stalk.

Five acres of flax, in the parish of Greenfield, have produced three thousand five hundred pounds, coarsely dressed, and fitted only for the rope-walk.

Oats, on the best grounds, will yield fifty bushels, and barley forty.

Beans are planted in the field only on dry, lean land, and yield from twelve to eighteen bushels.

Buck-wheat yields from fifteen to twenty-five bushels an acre.

Rye yields less than wheat, on almost any ground which is not moist; but rises sometimes to thirty bushels an acre, and has exceeded this quantity.

The principal defects in our husbandry, so far as I am able to judge, are a deficiency in the quantity of labour necessary to prepare the ground for seed, insufficient manuring, the want of a good rotation of crops, and slovenliness in cleaning the ground. The soil is not sufficiently pulverized, nor sufficiently manured. We are generally ignorant of what crops will best succeed each other, and our fields are covered with a rank growth of weeds. Those, indeed, which are planted with maize and potatoes, are kept, during the vegetation of these plants, tolerably clean; but whenever the hoe ceases from its task, become again very weedy. I have often thought, when passing by a field from which a crop of wheat or rye had been taken, that the crop of weeds, which grew the same year, would weigh more than either. These evils are understood, and felt; but the price of labour, not unfrequently twelve dollars a month, prevents them from being removed. Superior skill would, however, remove them in part.

But, defective as our agriculture is, it has been considerably improved within the last thirty years, and is now fast improving.

The cultivation of clover has become a considerable object, and the use of gypsum has been widely extended. Other manures also have been gathered in greater quantities, and employed with better effect. Fences are, in many instances, better made. The same quantity of labour is frequently confined to a smaller extent of ground; and farms in many places are assuming a neater and more thrifty aspect. Such, upon the whole, is our soil, and such our culture, that probably fewer persons suffer from the want either of the necessaries or the comforts of life, than in any other country containing an equal population.

I ought not to conclude this Letter without remarking, that New-England is distinguished for a finely-varied surface. Mountains in immense ranges, bold spurs, and solitary eminences, and rising from the New-Haven bluffs of four hundred feet to the height of Mount Washington, little less, according to the lowest estimation, than eight thousand, are everywhere dispersed with delightful successions of sublimity and grandeur. The variety, which Milton informs us Earth has derived from Heaven,

"Of pleasure situate in hill and dale,"

is nowhere more extensively found. Beautiful swells, and elegant scoops of every form, are in a sense innumerable. Intervals, the most exquisite of all modifications of the surface, border a great part of our rivers; and, it is presumed, are nowhere excelled in beauty. The rivers themselves; the mill-streams; the brooks, abounding everywhere; and the small lakes, spread at little distances over the whole country, render its aspect remarkably cheerful and pleasant. The coast also is finely indented with bays and harbours, and finely fronted with a succession of delightful islands. Neither the poet nor the painter can here be ever at a loss for scenery to employ the pen or the pencil.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IX.

General Account of the Indians of New-England. Divisions of their Nations or Tribes. Their Character, Passions, and Manners. Their Weekwams, Agriculture, Wars, Treatment of Captives, Government, Knowledge of Medicine, Religion, Morals, and Language. Considerations relative to their Origin.

DEAR S'R;

I PRESUME you will be gratified with such an outline of the history of New-England, as will enable you distinctly to comprehend whence the present circumstances of its inhabitants have become what they now are. This I will endeavour to furnish you, and this only: a mere outline, to be filled up at your leisure from books, which have occupied the subject.

The original inhabitants, as you have often heard, were a collection of savages. These people were all of one nation, unless we are to except those in the eastern parts of the district of Maine, with those of New-Brunswick and Nova-Scotia*, and were so considered by themselves. A single

* The Indians of Penobscot, as I have been since informed by the Hon. Timothy Edwards, were proved to be Mohekaneews, by the following incident:—Several men of this tribe, during the revolutionary war, came to Boston to solicit of the government a stipend, which had been formerly granted to the tribe by the legislature of Massachusetts-Bay. The business was referred, by the council of safety, to Mr. Edwards, then a member of their body, as being versed in the affairs, and acquainted with the character of Indians. Mr. Edwards employed Hendrick Awpaumut, a Stockbridge Indian accidentally in Boston at that time, to confer with the petitioners, and learn the nature of their expectations. Hendrick found himself able to converse with them, so far as to understand their wishes satisfactorily; and observed to Mr. Edwards, that their language was radically Mohekaneew, and differed only as a dialect. This fact I had from Mr. Edwards. I have mentioned it here, because the contrary opinion seems to have been universally adopted.

language was spoken by them all: distributed, indeed, into different dialects; not more different, however, from each other than some of those which are now spoken in England; particularly that of Yorkshire, and that which you call the West-country dialect. Accordingly they appear to have conversed easily with each other, both on their public and private concerns. But they were only a small part of this nation. The same language was spoken by all the tribes between the Potowmac and the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi and the ocean. I know of no exception, beside the Iroquois, or Six Nations, who were plainly a people entirely distinct from all the rest. The tribes who inhabited this vast extent of territory, containing about six hundred thousand square miles*, seem never to have been called by any common name, as were their brethren the Tartars in the northern parts of Asia, but always to have been designated by appellations, derived apparently from incidental circumstances, particularly from the mountains, rivers, lakes, bays, and islands on or near which they resided. The oldest tribe, according to their own account, and that which has been regularly allowed the pre-eminence in all their councils, lived in the county of Berkshire, in Massachusetts, and in the neighbouring regions of New-York, and since my remembrance principally at Stockbridge. They are styled by the late Dr. Edwards, president of Union college at Schenectady, in the state of New-York, who spoke their language familiarly, Mohekaneews, and by a writer of their own, Muhheakunnuk. I shall adopt the orthography of Dr. Edwards, particularly as the Indian writer declares Mohekaneew to denote an individual of his tribe†, and shall call the whole nation by this name.

The principal tribes which were settled in New-England were the Pequods, in Connecticut; Narrhagansetts, in Rhode Island; the Wampanoags, Massachusetts, Nipnets or Nip-

* From a collation of facts, particularly the accounts given by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and others, it appears, that the language of the Mohekaneews is extensively spoken by the Indians on the west of the Mississippi, as far, at least, as within four hundred miles of the Pacific ocean. This nation therefore has probably been extended over the greater part of North America.

† See Hist. Coll. Mass. Soc. vol. ii, page 100.

muks, Nashuas, and Stockbridge Indians, in Massachusetts; the Pigwacket and Coos Indians, in New-Hampshire; and the Tarrateens, or Abenaquis, in the district of Maine.

The general character of these people was the same. They were tall, straight, of a red complexion, with black eyes; of a vacant look when unimpassioned; with long, black, coarse hair; well built; and possessed a natural understanding, sagacity, and wit, equal to the same attributes in other men.

The passions of these people were exactly what nature, cherished by regular and unlimited indulgence, made them. Uncontrolled by their parents during their childhood and youth, except in those cases only where necessity forbade this indulgence, they were impatient of control ever after, where it was not absolutely demanded by either personal or public safety. Their hatred and revenge expired only with the life of the object or their own, and was undiminished either by absence or time. Their attachments to each other, individually, appear to me to have been usually feeble, even within the nearest degrees of consanguinity. Perhaps an exception is to be made in favour of parental tenderness, which, in some instances, seems to have existed, particularly in their women, with considerable strength. The men seem to have had little tendency toward the gentler affections, and little respect for them. Where their attachments existed with any strength they were permanent, and they sometimes exhibited very honourable specimens of gratitude. The following story will exemplify both their gratitude and their wit.

Not many years after the county of Litchfield began to be settled by the English, a stranger Indian came one day into an inn, in the town of Litchfield*, in the dusk of the evening, and requested the hostess to furnish him with some drink and a supper. At the same time, he observed, that he could pay for neither, as he had had no success in hunting; but promised payment as soon as he should meet with better fortune. The hostess refused him both the drink and the supper; called him a lazy, drunken, good-for-nothing fellow; and told him, that she did not work so hard herself, to throw away her earnings upon such creatures as he was. A man who sat by, and observed

* Possibly it was the county, not the town of Litchfield.

that the Indian, then turning about to leave so inhospitable a place, showed by his countenance that he was suffering very severely from want and weariness, directed the hostess to supply him what he wished, and engaged to pay the bill himself. She did so. When the Indian had finished his supper, he turned to his benefactor, thanked him, and assured him that he should remember his kindness, and, whenever he was able, would faithfully recompense it. For the present, he observed, he could only reward him with a story, which, if the hostess would give him leave, he wished to tell. The hostess, whose complacency had been recalled by the prospect of payment, consented. The Indian, addressing himself to his benefactor, said, "I suppose you read the Bible." The man assented. "Well," said the Indian, "the Bible say, God made the world, and then he took him, and looked on him, and say, 'It's all very good.' Then he made light, and took him, and looked on him, and say, 'It's all very good.' Then he made dry land and water, and sun and moon, and grass and trees, and took him, and looked on him, and say, 'It's all very good.' Then he made beasts, and birds, and fishes, and took him, and looked on him, and say, 'It's all very good.' Then he made man, and took him, and looked on him, and say, 'It's all very good.' Then he made woman, and took him, and looked on him, and he no dare say one such word." The Indian, having told his story, withdrew.

Some years after, the man who had befriended him had occasion to go some distance into the wilderness between Litchfield (then a frontier settlement) and Albany, where he was taken prisoner by an Indian scout, and carried to Canada. When he arrived at the principal settlement of the tribe, on the southern border of the St. Lawrence, it was proposed by some of the captors that he should be put to death. During the consultation, an old Indian woman demanded that he should be given up to her, that she might adopt him in the place of a son, whom she had lost in the war. He was accordingly given to her, and lived through the succeeding winter in her family, experiencing the customary effects of savage hospitality. The following summer, as he was at work in the forest alone, an unknown Indian came up to him, and asked him to meet him at a place which he pointed out, upon

a given day. The prisoner agreed to the proposal, but not without some apprehensions that mischief was intended him. During the interval, these apprehensions increased to such a degree, as to dissuade him effectually from fulfilling his engagement. Soon after, the same Indian found him at his work again, and very gravely reproved him for not performing his promise. The man apologised awkwardly enough, but in the best manner in his power. The Indian told him that he should be satisfied if he would meet him at the same place on a future day, which he named. The man promised to meet him, and fulfilled his promise. When he arrived at the spot, he found the Indian provided with two muskets, ammunition for them, and two knapsacks. The Indian ordered him to take one of each, and follow him. The direction of their march was to the south. The man followed without the least knowledge of what he was to do, or whither he was going; but concluded, that if the Indian intended him harm, he would have dispatched him at the beginning; and that, at the worst, he was as safe where he was, as he could be in any other place. Within a short time, therefore, his fears subsided, although the Indian observed a profound and mysterious silence concerning the object of the expedition. In the day-time they shot such game as came in their way, and at night kindled a fire, by which they slept. After a tedious journey of many days, they came one morning to the top of an eminence, presenting a prospect of a cultivated country, in which was a number of houses. The Indian asked his companion whether he knew the ground. He replied eagerly, that it was Litchfield. His guide then, after reminding him that he had so many years before relieved the wants of a famishing Indian, at an inn in that town, subjoined, "I that Indian! now I pay you! go home." Having said this, he bade him adieu, and the man joyfully returned to his own house*.

I could give you other specimens of the same nature, and one, perhaps, even more striking than this. Their gratitude, and probably all the gentle affections which they exercise, are, like their resentments, not only lasting, but conveyed through

* This story may be *circumstantially* erroneous; in *substance* I believe it to be true.

several successive generations. My paternal grandfather was a benefactor to several of the Stockbridge Indians, and was held by that tribe in much esteem. Their descendants have regularly taken pains to show me that they retained an affectionate remembrance of his kindness to their progenitors, and have exhibited to me, as one of his posterity, very marked proofs of attachment, although, before, absolute strangers both to him and me.

The manners of the Mohekaneews were such as are generally found among nations at the same stage of society; coarse, careless, rude, and slovenly. Their dress was a deer skin, flung, like the Asiatic burnoose, loosely over the shoulders, with another piece tied round the waist. Their women wore a short petticoat, and a mantle also, resembling that of the men; this was frequently made of beaver skins. Their shoes were of the same materials with the other parts of their dress; or, when they could procure it, of moose skin, as being stouter, and were called moccasins. They wrought them with a handsome embroidery, if it may be so called, formed of the quills of the porcupine, beautifully dyed, and arranged with neatness and elegance. Their stockings, which were originally of the same materials also, were beautified in the same manner, and drawn up near to the hip. Their stockings and shoes were worn in the winter only. Their food was composed of maize, beans, squashes, berries of various kinds, fish, and land animals. Earthen pots, which they made with considerable ingenuity, as appears from specimens still existing, were used to boil their food. They ate almost all the animals which they caught, yet they seem to have preferred venison to flesh of every other kind. Several of the modes in which they prepared maize have been followed by the present inhabitants of the country.

Their houses seem originally to have been built in this manner. A strong pole was set up in the centre, around which, at the distance of ten or twelve feet, others were driven obliquely into the ground. All these met the central one at the top, and were there fastened together. Here the family lived and slept in a single apartment, and sometimes two or three families together.

Since the arrival of the Europeans they have built their ha-

bitations in a different manner. They cut sticks five or six inches in diameter, and sometimes still larger, and of a convenient length. These are all scored at both ends. Then four of them are laid together in the form of a square or parallelogram, the ends of two being laid upon the ends of the other two. Then four more are laid in the same manner directly over these, and thus the work is continued till it is raised to a sufficient height. Rafters are then set upon this structure, and the gable ends continued up to the ridge, with the same materials which compose the body of the building. In both cases they spread a covering, sometimes of bark, and sometimes of the thick branches of trees, to defend them from snow and rain. A hole is cut in the roof at one end, to suffer the smoke of the fire, placed directly under it, to escape. The door is a mere gap, before which, after the arrival of the English, they spread a blanket in cold weather, and probably in earlier times a skin. They called a house *weekwam*, pronounced by their successors *wigwam*.

The cultivated ground of each family consisted of a garden or field, of no great size. Villages and hamlets, frequently at least, had common fields. Their agriculture was performed by women, labour being universally regarded by the men, as it is by the Tartars, with contempt. Their instruments of husbandry you will easily believe were clumsy and imperfect, being all made of stone. The objects of their culture were those which I have mentioned above, and tobacco. Their pipes were of stone, and sometimes wrought with considerable ingenuity.

The diversions of the men were principally dancing, gaming, and hunting, in all of which they made the most vigorous exertions. Hunting was also a necessary and useful employment, and, after war, the highest source of glory. When they were not thus employed, the men slept, sat, lay down, or lounged, with little more animation than that of an oyster. The women were more industrious.

As they could hunt only at given seasons, war, on this account, as well as others, was naturally their favourite employment. It started their minds out of a lethargy, and furnished the pleasure and the glory of exertion, flattered pride, and yielded the sweets of revenge. Hence they were almost

always at war. This was usually first announced by actual hostilities, by burning, plundering, and butchering their enemies, without distinction of age or sex. Their attacks were made with profound secrecy, a considerable share of sagacity, and often with terrible success. When they fought in the open field, or made any onset, in which they designed to discover themselves, they rushed to the attack with a shrill and intense scream, called the war-whoop, and terrible for a series of years to the English colonists. I have heard it several times, and can easily believe, that from three or four hundred voices it would in some degree appal even a stout heart. Their weapons were bows and arrows, headed with flint or other hard stones. These they were taught to handle from early childhood, and thus learned to use them with great skill and exactness. The practice, and the skill which accompanies it, they retain to this day, and many of them would even now be able to strike the apple, so famous in the history of William Tell, without the least danger of injuring the child. Another of their principal weapons was the well known tomahawk, or war club. I had one of these in my possession many years; in shape not unlike a Turkish sabre, but much shorter and more clumsy. On it were formed several figures of men, by putting together thin slips of copper, set edgewise in the wood. Some of them were standing, some were prostrated, and a few had lost their heads. The two last were supposed to denote the number of enemies, whom the owner of the tomahawk professed himself to have killed. Since the arrival of the English they have used fire-arms. To these they add a long knife and a small battle-axe, to which they have transferred the name of tomahawk. This instrument they are said to throw with such skill as almost invariably to hit their mark at a considerable distance.

The captives whom they took in war they often tortured with every variety of cruelty, and endeavoured to embitter their death with every species of insult. When the captive was a warrior, he commonly endured these evils, not only without shrinking, but with triumph, and usually retorted their insults with all the contempt and severity in his power. Their views of war were softened by no relentings of humanity, and by no dictates of principle.

When they made peace, the heads of the contending tribes

solemnized the treaty by smoking together in the same pipe, called the calumet, and by the English the pipe of peace.

Their government was slight and ill defined, and seems to have been somewhat different in different tribes. Their principal chiefs were called sachems, their subordinate ones, sagamores. The precise limits of the authority which they respectively possessed cannot be ascertained. A chief of great bodily strength, agility, discernment, courage, and success in war, would naturally gain among them, as among other nations, a greater ascendancy over his countrymen, and one of the contrary character less. War and peace seem to have been determined on in a council formed of old men, distinguished by their exploits. A murderer was put to death by an avenger of blood, usually the nearest male, and sometimes the nearest female relation of the deceased. Some capital offenders they seem to have tried by a general council of the nation, and to have ordered execution on the spot. A few customs had among them the force of law, and although violated at times, like the laws of other nations, their authority was, I believe, never called in question. Crimes against property must have been very few, and not very seriously regarded, since their whole inventory consisted of a weekwam and its furniture, their clothes, weapons, instruments of agriculture, and not unfrequently a canoe and its oars. When in council they spoke optionally, and listened to each speaker with a profound and very respectful silence, observing a decorum which might with great advantage be copied by our congress and your parliament. When propositions for war or peace were made, or treaties proposed to them by the colonial governors, they met the ambassadors in council, and at the end of each paragraph or proposition the principal sachem delivered a short stick to one of his council, as a token that it was his peculiar duty to remember that paragraph. This was repeated till every proposal was finished. They then retired to deliberate among themselves, and after their deliberations were ended, the sachem, or some councillor to whom he had delegated this office, replied to every paragraph in its turn, with an exactness scarcely exceeded in the written correspondence of civilized powers. Each man actually remembered what was committed particularly to him, and, with this assistance, the per-

son who replied remembered the whole. Some of their speakers were eloquent in a high degree, and both their gestures and the modulations of their voice were singularly natural, animated, and impressive. Both eloquence and wisdom were held by them in high estimation; the wisdom, I mean, which was manifested in public debate. About the affairs of individuals they seem to have given themselves no concern*.

Their skill in medicine was confined to a few simple prescriptions and operations. Bathing, both cold and warm, they applied in certain cases with success. They also made use of a considerable number of plants with advantage. But for many diseases they had no remedy, beside that general one of savages, sorcery. The powaw, who was at once their priest and physician, always undertook, when he was applied to, the removal of a disease. His jugglery consisted, as it universally has done elsewhere†, of a number of unmeaning, and apparently mystical ceremonies, calculated to awaken the curiosity, and excite the apprehensions of ignorant people. These ceremonies were dreaded, because their nature was unknown, and, like some laboured systems of philosophy, were thought to have a very profound meaning, because they had no meaning at all. Wherever fear, agitation, or faith, could accomplish the cure, it ordinarily succeeded, but in all other cases failed of success. The evils of bearing and nursing children their women scarcely knew.

Their religion was a compound of a few truths, traditionarily received, and the dictates of ignorance and superstition. Like many of the learned Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Persians, and Hindoos, they held that there were two gods, one good

* The Assiniboins, or Assiniboils, visited by Mr. Henry, had plainly a government much superior to what is here described. Their principal chieftain appears to have had a very decisive control over his nation. He was attended and punctiliously obeyed by a guard of soldiers, apparently well disciplined. His government appeared to be mild and equitable, but at the same time efficacious. A good order, mildness of manners, kindness to strangers, and several other traits of an imperfectly civilized character, prevailed in this nation, which, so far as I have been informed, are not found on this continent north of Mexico, except perhaps in some of the tribes near the straits of Behring.

† See Bell's account (for example) of the Siberian Shamans. Bell's Travels, vol. i, p. 248, 309, &c.

and the other evil. The good being they supposed the superior, and commonly styled him, indifferently, the great or good spirit. The evil being they considered as the more active agent, and appeared to be more solicitous about his favour, as they attributed to his agency all the evil which they suffered. They, however, worshipped both. They also formed images of stone, and paid them religious homage. One of these idols is now in the museum at Hartford. Sacred stones exist still in several places, one, particularly, at Middletown; to which every Indian, who passes by, makes a religious obeisance.

Their religious services consisted of prayers and offerings. The substance offered was a sweet-scented powder. Of what it was formed, I am ignorant.

They had an obscure, confused, and fabulous mythology, and distinct traditions of the creation and the deluge*. From this devastation of the world they supposed two persons to have been preserved. These they considered as eminently virtuous; favoured by the good spirit; preserved by ascending a very high mountain (supposed by some of them to have been Mount Washington), and the progenitors of the present race of men. Upon the whole, their religion was not more irrational, and much less deformed by folly or vice, than that of the Greeks and Romans.

Their morals were formed upon a low scale; but were, perhaps, as little debased as those of other heathen nations. They were insincere and treacherous. So to a great extent were the Greeks and Romans. They were lewd, but less so than either of these nations. Plato, in his scheme of a republic, has licensed and sanctioned all the impurity of which these people were guilty; and they were never chargeable with a crime, still more odious, practised abundantly by both Greek and

* The Great Hare or Nanibojau lived, originally, toward the going down of the sun, where, being warned in a dream that the inhabitants would be drowned in a general flood produced by heavy rains, he built a raft, on which he preserved his own family and all the animal world without exception. According to his dream, the rains fell, and a flood ensued. His raft drifted for many moons, during which no land was discovered. His family began to despair of a termination to the calamity; and the animals, who had then the use of speech, murmured loudly against him. In the end he produced a new earth, placed the animals upon it, and created man.—*Henry's Travels in Canada, p. 212.*

Roman philosophers; and openly declared concerning himself by Xenophon. They offered up no human sacrifices; warranted no drunkenness in their sacred rites; and introduced into them no pollution. Their captives they treated with abominable cruelty; but scarcely with more horrible inhumanity than the Romans exhibited towards theirs, at shows, ordered by the senate, coveted by the people, and witnessed by ladies of the most polished manners, and of the highest distinction. If the facts, asserted by Juvenal in his sixth satire, had any foundation, the manners of his countrymen were incomparably more corrupt than those of these Indians. Certainly, the religion of the Brahmans is more sottish and detestable, and their morals are beyond measure more impure. The treaties of the Indians, though imperfectly observed, were better kept than those of the modern French, not to say of many other nations, both modern and ancient. Upon the whole, they exhibited the general depravity of human nature, under all the disadvantages of profound ignorance; but without the peculiar mischiefs of an absurd philosophy.

Science they had none; and their arts extended no farther than the erection of their buildings, the construction of their canoes, and the formation of the implements, which have been mentioned. Improvement seems to have been unthought of by them in any thing, whether moral or natural. Every man, and every generation, trod in the same narrow track, in which their progenitors had gone before them. They built their houses and formed their utensils in the same manner, without dreaming that either could be made in ways more convenient and useful. Their houses, through a succession of several thousand years, were still weekwams, and their hoes and axes clumsy pieces of stone. With minds not less capable of improvement than those of the rest of mankind, they stopped at a goal, a little advanced from complete ignorance. The reason of this is, obviously, the absolute want of any motives, which they could comprehend and feel, to rouse them from their lethargy and prompt them to go forward. In the same circumstances, all nations would have acted in the same manner.

The language of the Mohekaneews seems to be totally destitute of elegance. It abounded in diphthongs, particularly *au*, and terminated many of its final syllables with the consonant *k*,

It is remarked by Dr. Holmes, and had before been by Wood, on the language of the Aberginians, that it is destitute of the *f*, *l*, and *r*, consonants, particularly the two last, essential to the melody of language. The remark is, however, an error*. Its words, also, like those of the Shanscrit, were immeasurably compounded, and often of a frightful length. Like the Greeks, Irish, Scotch, Swedes, Germans, and many other nations, they used the guttural aspirate. Perhaps this may be a general characteristic of languages, spoken with peculiar strength of emphasis. It is but just to observe; that, when well spoken by a native, with the proper inflections of the voice, this language seemed in some measure divested of its tedious monotony of sounds, and universally less disagreeable than a person would suspect from seeing it written.

After investigating their character and manners, the question is naturally asked, "Whence came these people to America, and whence did they derive their origin?" To these questions, as you know, several answers have been given. I shall not here enter into an examination of them. Permit me, however, to present you a few remarks on the subject, which I will briefly make, and then leave it to your own consideration.

1. The distance between the east cape of Asia and Cape Prince of Wales in America, across the straits of Behring, is about forty miles. Capt. Cook found a body of savages in their canoes six hundred miles from home (*i. e.* fifteen times this distance), on a military enterprize. It is plain, therefore, that the breadth of these straits could present no obstacle to their emigration from the eastern continent. It may be proper further to observe, that the people of both continents now cross them familiarly; and that the people of America, bordering on the great western lakes, customarily pass over them in their batteaus. I need not tell you, that this navigation is both more dangerous, and extends through many times the same distance.

* Among the names of the Indians who sold Nonatuck (Northampton) to the first planters were Wawhillomay, Nenessahalant, Lampaneeho. Another of their sachems was named Wulluther. Two other Indians of their tribe (murderers) are named Calawanc and Paequallant. These are decisive proofs that L and R were in the alphabet of the Mohekanccws. I have found many other specimens of the same nature. Whether F was used by this nation I am ignorant.

2. The colonization of the world by the descendants of Noah must necessarily have conducted them within a period, whose utmost limit terminated from two to three thousand years ago, to the north-eastern shore of Asia. From this shore the next step was to the American continent. To a people, habitually fond of a roving life, an excursion to this continent could not, in the circumstances, fail of being an alluring object, and would present not a single serious difficulty.

3. The figure, complexion, dress, manners, customs, and canoes of the natives on both continents are the same. Mr. Smibert, a respectable European painter, who came to New-England with the celebrated Berkeley, in the year 1732, saw some Indians at Newport, and informed Dr. Stiles, afterwards president of Yale college, that their countenances, in all the features, were remarkably copies of some Tartars, whose faces he had taken at Naples for the king of the Two Sicilies. The opinion of a respectable painter on a subject of this kind will not, I suppose, be questioned.

The tribes of both continents pull out their beards; march in single file; bury their dead in the same manner, &c. &c.

4. The traditions of all the American nations, so far as they are known, uniformly declare, that their ancestors came from the west. Particularly this is asserted by the Mohekaneews, the Iroquois, and the Mexican nations. An Indian historian of the Mohekaneews delivers it as the tradition of their ancestors, that they came in the direction of west by north from another country; that they passed over the great waters, where this country and that are nearly connected, and that they originally lived by the side of the ocean, whence they derived their name, which signifies great waters continually in motion, or continually ebbing and flowing*.

The Mexicans pointed out their course to the Spaniards distinctly, and marked the stations, at which they stopped for a considerable length of time, together with the works which they threw up at these stations for their defence. The Abbe Clavigero informs us, that the Spaniards have since discovered some of these stations, and the ruins of the works, at the places mentioned in the Mexican accounts.

* See Hist. Coll. vol. iv, p. 100.

Beside the proof, here furnished, that the Mexicans told the truth concerning their emigration, the very tradition itself, among these several nations, cannot be false nor mistaken. All traditionary accounts, which are regularly retained by any nation concerning the place of its origin, are almost of course true, *i. e.* in substance. Those, who first communicated them, communicated facts. Those who followed have often forgotten some facts, and added some fabulous circumstances. But the great and commanding facts have rarely been forgotten, and never mistaken. Those who repeat and those who receive the tradition are here interested in preserving truth, because every nation, particularly every savage nation, considers its origin as honourable to itself, and regards it with not a little attachment. The subject, also, is too simple to perplex the memory, and too important to escape it. When, therefore, these nations tell us that their ancestors came from the west, it is to be received as, of course, true.

In addition to this, the several traditions of the nations which have been mentioned, and of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, Brazil, and several other countries in South America, concerning the creation, the deluge, and the confusion of languages, cannot have been inventions of their own. The chances are many millions to one against their agreement in the formation of these traditionary stories. They are, therefore, complete proofs against the hypothesis, that these people were indigenous inhabitants of America. Equally are they proofs that they sprang from a common stock, and this stock certainly existed in Asia.

5. These people emigrated in colonies; each composed of a tribe. The Tartars emigrate in this manner at the present time, and have ever thus emigrated. The proof of this, also, is complete. Each colony has ever retained its own language, and that proved, by its strictly analogical character, to be an unmixed language. There is a striking example of this truth in the circumstances of the Iroquois and Mohekaneews. The latter nation originally occupied the whole tract which I have specified, and spread their language over it. The Iroquois, at a subsequent period, fought their way with superior military prowess into the country, now constituting a great part of the state of New-York, and lying south of the St. Lawrence, west

of the Hudson and Lake Champlain, north of New-Jersey, and occupying a part of Pennsylvania and the state of Ohio, a tract which contained from sixty to eighty thousand square miles. Here this formidable nation planted itself, and continued, probably, for several centuries*. Yet there is not the least mixture of their language with that of the Mohekaneews, as spoken by any tribe of either nation. What is true of these languages is true of others. The Abbe Clavigero informs us, that there are upwards of thirty languages in Mexico. These, however, he himself reduces to "three or four," *i. e.* to a very small number; for his phraseology teaches us, that the Abbe did not know the exact truth. These original languages, he declares, have no affinity to each other; and any person, who will examine a vocabulary of the Mexican, Mohekaneew, Iroquois, and Araucanian languages, will perceive that they have as little resemblance as the English and the Hebrew. Each has its own analogy, and that regular; and each has its peculiar set of words. It ought to have been observed, that the Mohekaneew language is spoken extensively beyond the Mississippi.

Of these tribes some must be supposed to have been farther advanced in civilization than others. Such now is, and from the earliest history ever has been, the state of the Tartar tribes in Asia. As they emigrated in a body, each tribe brought with it its own knowledge, arts, and customs, whatever they were. These, so far as the means of continuing them were found in the countries where they settled, they communicated to their children. Such of them as were advanced sufficiently far in improvement to awaken the spirit of ingenious effort, added somewhat to their previous stock of knowledge and arts. The Toltecas, particularly, who appear to have been better informed than any other American tribe, seem originally to have possessed the art of recording historical events by pictures. Had not the Spaniards, in their furious zeal against Gentilism, foolishly destroyed a great multitude of these pictures, they would probably have contributed not a little to throw light upon the ancient history of America. From the Toltecas the Mexicans, properly so called, received all their arts, and

* Their conquests extended over a much larger region.

improved some of them; but seem never to have arrived at the same degree of intelligence, refinement, or morality. The Peruvians, I mean that tribe of them which laid the foundation of the Peruvian empire, and ultimately conquered all the nations which it contained, were also possessed of considerable improvements at their emigration, and of a softness of manners resembling that of the Toltecas. The Tlascalans in Mexico, and the Araucanians in Chili, were republicans, and possessed a high spirit of freedom, and a juster sense of its nature and value than any other American nation. Both also possessed a considerable knowledge of the useful arts, and principles of government, totally superior to any thing else existing among the aborigines of this continent. All these distinctions are in a primary degree to be attributed to the state of society, attained by these tribes before their emigration. This consideration, connected with the fact, that all these people emigrated in tribes, will sufficiently explain the differences found among them when the Europeans visited America.

6. There is nothing mysterious in finding this set of colonists on every part of the western continent. To wander is the delight, and very often the proper and only business of Indians, as it ever has been of the Tartars. Indians travel with a facility, a celerity, and a freedom from fatigue, unknown to the people of Europe. Their couriers, or runners, are said to go at the rate of one hundred miles in a day. The Hon. Jahleel Woodbridge, a gentleman of great respectability in Stockbridge (Massachusetts), informed me, that, having occasion to ride from his house to Great Barrington, he observed, soon after he set out, an Indian runner, who had come from some of the western tribes with a political message to the Stockbridge Indians, following him at the distance of about thirty feet, and moving with exactly the same celerity as himself. Mr. Woodbridge was travelling at the rate of about five miles an hour; and perceiving that the Indian intended to keep pace with him, and having a curiosity to know how fast he could travel, put his horse upon a gallop of eight miles an hour. The Indian with perfect ease kept still at the same distance from him. On the ridge of Monument mountain, where it is crossed by the road, half way between Stockbridge and Barrington, the road turns to the west, at right angles, for the sake of descending

the mountain easily, and then bends to the south again. A foot-path leaves the road at the ridge, and rejoins it at the distance of half a mile. The Indian took this path, shortening the distance to the place of junction about one third. When Mr. Woodbridge arrived at this spot, he saw nothing of the Indian; but stopping at an inn in Barrington, found that he had arrived about fifteen minutes before him. This Indian passed over the seven miles in an hour. Mr. Woodbridge asked him whether he could travel at this rate through the day. He replied, "Yes, without any difficulty."

Two Choctaws followed my oldest brother from the Natchez settlement, five hundred miles, to steal from him two valuable horses; which they accomplished. When I asked him how they could be willing to take so much trouble for such an object, he observed, that they had no other business, and that roving was their favourite employment.

It will require but a moderate number of years, compared with what an European would naturally suppose, to furnish ample opportunity for a tribe of these people, delighted as they are with rambling, to reach the most distant parts of this continent. Half a century would convey them with great ease from Cape Prince of Wales to Cape Horn.

7. Still I think it altogether probable, that all of them did not come to America across Behring's Straits. There is good reason to believe, that the Malayans, the Dutch of Asia, crossed the Pacific ocean in the pursuit of commerce. Should this be admitted, it will be easily believed, that they planted colonies on the western coast. The Esquimaux and Greenlanders, together with some other northern tribes, seem to be an entirely different people from the nations which were planted to the south; and unless the supposition should be refuted by their language, may without any improbability be considered as having derived their origin from the north of Europe. Nor is their a single known fact, which forbids us to believe, that the Phœnicians and Carthagenians, in their voyages to different countries on the Atlantic, particularly to the Fortunate Islands, wandered either from necessity or accident, into the course of the trade winds, and were driven to the western continent. This, I acknowledge, is a conjecture; but it is not an improbable one.

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The principal Indian tribes, found by the English within the limits of New-England, were the Wampanoags, or people of Massasoit; the Aberginians, and the Tarrateens, on the eastern coast; the Narrhagansetts and Pequods on the south; and the Nipnets in the centre of southern New-England. The other tribes seem to have been smaller, and to have received their names from the places of their residence. Of these tribes the Narrhagansetts were the most numerous. Nations multiply, ordinarily, in proportion to the means of subsistence; and the waters of Narrhagansett bay, and the neighbouring Sound, abounding with fish, furnished these means more plentifully to that tribe, than any other sources to their countrymen.

The Wampanoags suffered very severely by an epidemic sickness, just before the arrival of the colonists. The Pequods were the most warlike of all the New-England tribes, and are reported to have fought their way from the interior to the southern shore, where they became terrible even to the Narrhagansetts. The Aberginians were a collection of tribes, lying between the Wampanoags, or the northern limit of Plymouth colony, and the river Pascataqua. How far they were connected by any peculiar alliances, it is impossible to determine. The Narrhagansetts appear to have been more inclined to commerce than any of their countrymen.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER X.

Discovery and Colonization of New-England. Mr. Robinson and his Church escape from persecution in England and take refuge in Holland. They embark for America and settle at Plymouth. Settlement of Salem, Charlestown, and Boston; of Hartford, Windsor, &c., in Connecticut; of Portsmouth, &c., in New-Hampshire; and of Providence in Rhode-Island. Feeble attempts to plant towns in the district of Maine.

DEAR SIR;

I HAVE given you a sketch of the character and origin of the aborigines of this country. This will sufficiently prepare you to understand many facts relative to the colonization of New-England, not otherwise intelligible. In the same manner a sketch of that colonization will enable you to form more comprehensive and more correct views of the present state of this country, than would otherwise be possible. Such a sketch, therefore, I will now proceed to communicate.

New-England was discovered in 1497, by John Cabot, a Venetian, sailing under a commission from Henry VII, to make discoveries for the benefit of the English nation. From this time no attempt was made to acquire any further knowledge of the country until the year 1602, when Bartholomew Gosnold visited it again, and coasted it from the southern point of the district of Maine to Elizabeth Islands, a circuit including two hundred and fifty miles. This voyage prompted several others. In 1607, an attempt was made to begin a settlement on Parker's Island, on the eastern side of Kennebeck river, at the mouth; but it was broken up the following year, and the sufferings of the colonists were such as to discourage every enterprise of this nature.

In 1607 a body of Puritans in the north of England (a small collection of zealous and exemplary Christians, whose predecessors had begun to receive this name in the year 1550) were divided into two churches. At the head of one of these were two men of distinguished worth, Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster, the former soon after the minister, the latter the ruling-elder of this church. Mr. Robinson, as Baylie, a man sufficiently hostile to dissenters from the English church, observes, "was a man of excellent parts, of the most learned, polished, and modest spirit, which ever separated from the Church of England." Many English writers have confounded him and his people with the Brownists. Baylie more justly observes, that "he was a principal overthrower of the Brownists." Governor Winslow also, a very respectable member of his church, an able judge of the subject, and perfectly acquainted with Mr. Robinson's character, declares, that he held communion with the reformed churches of Scotland, France, and Holland; was perfectly satisfied that his people should attend on the preaching of the pious ministers of the English church, and allowed private communion with them, and with all religious persons in the kingdom, and elsewhere. His own words, however, will more perfectly display his character, than those of any other writer whatever. When a considerable part of his congregation left him, to plant themselves in America, he charged them "to follow him no further than he followed Christ; lamented that the Lutherans, Calvinists, and all other branches of the reformed church, stopped at the precise point of reformation where their leaders stopped;" reminded them, that, "in their church covenant they had engaged to receive the written word of God as the only rule of their faith;" but exhorted them "to weigh well what the Scriptures taught, and to receive nothing as religious truth, without a diligent and faithful examination of the Scriptures." It is questionable whether any man in England held, at that time, opinions either so liberal or so just, so rational or so scriptural. Yet this man and his congregation were so harassed by the spirit of the times, some of them being imprisoned, some beset in their houses, and some driven from their farms and families, that they concluded to bid a final adieu to their native country, and plant themselves in Holland, where they hoped to enjoy greater

liberty of conscience. In 1607 and 1608, a considerable number of them escaped to Holland, amid the greatest embarrassments, and were afterwards joined by some others, while others still were detained by violence. The spirit of the government may be thoroughly seen in a declaration, which King James I required the ministers of Scotland to publish in their churches; enjoining, "that those who attend church on Sundays should not be disturbed or discouraged from dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, having May-games, Whitson-ales, Morrice-dances, setting up May-poles, and other sports therewith used, or any other such harmless recreations on Sundays, after Divine service." The virtuous people of that country were shocked by this profanation of the Christian Sabbath; and their ministers could not consent to read the declaration in their churches, and thus become voluntary instruments of spreading the profanation which it established. For this conduct they ought to have been regarded only with reverence. But all the ministers who refused were summoned before the high commissioned court, imprisoned, and suspended.

In Holland Mr. Robinson and his people found protection; and after experiencing every hardship and abuse in making their way to that country, were permitted quietly to enjoy their religion in this land of strangers. But in a country so populous, where all customs and habits were so fixed, where all business was already occupied, and where the inhabitants were so little inclined to step aside from their own established course, even for the accommodation of themselves or each other, there was little opportunity for this band of foreigners, stripped at home of their all, to acquire either property or comfort, except in very limited degrees. Their integrity and piety, however, recommended them to the esteem and confidence of the Dutch, and called forth several testimonials of their good will. Still their fare was hard, and their prospects were discouraging.

During this period America became a more and more interesting topic of conversation to the English nation generally, particularly to the non-conformists, and peculiarly to this exiled congregation. The several voyages made to that continent increased the public information, and excited many romantic

expectations of deriving from it great commercial advantages. To these unfortunate people it appeared inviting, as an asylum of civil and religious liberty, and as a refuge from the numerous evils which they still suffered. After many inquiries concerning the country, and many consultations with each other and with their friends in England, concerning the dangers and difficulties which might attend the enterprise, they resolved to make the attempt. Accordingly they sent Messieurs Robert Cushman and John Carver to procure from the government assurances of protection and liberty of conscience, and a patent from the Virginia company. The patent they obtained, but never made any use of it. The government only consented not to molest them, if they conducted themselves peaceably. With this encouragement they hired a vessel in Holland, on which a part of the congregation, taking an affectionate leave of the other part, and of Mr. Robinson, embarked for England. Here they had already hired another vessel, and with a number of friends embarked on board of both, at Southampton, for the western continent. The ship in which they came from Holland was soon discovered to be leaky. This misfortune compelled them to return to Plymouth, where she was pronounced to be unfit for the voyage. Discouraged by this circumstance, a part of the company, among whom were Mr. Cushman and his family, relinquished the enterprise for the present; but the body of the adventurers, embarking again on board of the other ship, set sail for Hudson's river. The Dutch, however, hired the master of the ship to conduct them to New-England. After a tedious and distressing passage of more than two months, they anchored in Cape Cod harbour, or the harbour of Provincetown, November 10th, 1620. Before they went on shore they formed themselves into a body politic, and chose Mr. Carver their governor for the first year. From this place they sent out a part of their company to make discoveries, and particularly to pitch upon a spot for their settlement. Such a spot they found on the 11th of December. With this intelligence they returned to the ship, and on the 16th arrived in the destined harbour. On the 23d they began to provide materials for building a shelter from the weather. On the 31st they kept the sabbath on shore; and named the place of their settlement Plymouth. The whole

number of persons, who sailed from Plymouth, in England, was one hundred and one; the same number which arrived in the harbour of Cape Cod. Six, however, died in the month of December, and forty-six more in the course of the winter; and most of those who survived were severely ill. They had arrived when the winter was nearly one-third advanced. Compared with the winters of this climate generally, it was mild; still any New-England winter must have been a distressing season to persons in their circumstances. They had every thing to do, and in this season could do very little, even of what was indispensable. Their shelter was wretched; their sufferings were intense; their dangers were not small, and were rendered painful by an absolute uncertainty of their extent. All these evils they encountered with resolution, and sustained with fortitude. Nay, they were warmed with a grateful spirit, and acknowledged, with continual praise, the multiplied blessings which they received. To each other they were kind. To the savages they were just. They loved the truth of the Gospel; embraced it in its purity; and obeyed it with an exact excellence of life, which added a new wreath to the character of man, and will be remembered so long as New-England shall be peopled with inhabitants who cherish liberty, and love the religion of the Cross.

Such was the first colonization of this country. Let me appeal to your candour and good sense to determine, whether the history of man furnishes a single example of the same nature, equally honourable to the human character. Almost every country on this globe has been originally settled by savages; or, if settled by civilized people, has been peopled solely for political or commercial purposes. Here the enjoyment and perpetuation of civil and religious liberty, conformity to the dictates of conscience, and a reverential obedience to the law of God, were the controlling principles. It is not contended that every individual was governed by these principles; but that this was the character of the great body is unanswerably evinced, if history can evince any thing. The manner in which they acted, and the spirit with which they endured distress, both in England and in Holland; the cool determination with which they resolved on so difficult an enterprise; the honourable testimonies which they received from

the Dutch magistrates and people; the sacrifices which they made of property, safety, and comfort; the affection which they manifested to each other; the serenity, firmness, and submission with which they sustained the distresses of their voyage; the undiscouraged perseverance with which they encountered danger and suffering after they had landed; the wisdom of the government which they established; the steadiness of their submission to its regulations; their ardent piety to God; and the equity, gentleness, and good-will with which they treated the Indians, form a constellation of excellence eminently brilliant and distinguished. No intelligent Englishman would hesitate to acknowledge it as a luminous spot on the character of his nation; were he not, in a sense, compelled to remember, that he may be descended from those very men, by whose injustice these pilgrims were driven into this melancholy exile.

After the Plymouth colonists had been long enough in their new residence to learn the state of the neighbouring country, they found that it had been absolutely depopulated, throughout a considerable extent, by an epidemic disease, a short time before their arrival. This event opened to them a place for settlement, not only without any jealousy, but even with the good wishes of their aboriginal neighbours. The people who had been destroyed were Wampanoags. Massasoit, the chief sachem of this tribe, was continually threatened after this destruction of his people, by their formidable neighbours the Narrhagansetts. Having gained some knowledge of the character of the English from one of his own people, named Squanto or Tisquantum (one of twenty-four Indians kidnapped, carried off, and sold to the Spaniards of Malaga, by Thomas Hunt, as slaves, but afterwards conveyed to London, and thence again to America), Massasoit believed, that the colonists might be made useful allies in the present state of his affairs. Accordingly he soon came to Plymouth, and entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the colonists. This treaty he maintained, without any serious interruption, to his death. He appears to have been a fair, honest, benevolent man. All these circumstances were favourable to the English.

On the 3d of November, 1620, King James constituted by

patent a council for the affairs of New-England, at the head of which was the Duke of Lenox, styling them "The Council, established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New-England, in America." To this council was entrusted the management of the whole country between the 40th and 48th degrees of latitude. The charter of this company was an instrument defective in many respects. Yet it was the foundation of every succeeding charter obtained by the New-England settlers. The Plymouth colonists procured a patent from this council in 1623, or rather it was procured by a man named John Pearce, in trust for the colony. A subsequent one was taken out by Mr. Isaac Allerton, afterwards a respectable inhabitant of Plymouth, in 1630, January 13th, in the name of William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns. Under this patent all their subsequent transactions proceeded.

Mr. Carver died in 1621, when Mr. Bradford was chosen governor in his place; and was re-elected every year, except three, to his death, in 1657. He was a man of superior wisdom, piety, and public spirit; and managed the affairs of the colony for thirty-three years, very honourably to himself, and very beneficially to the inhabitants. He died in the 69th year of his age.

In 1622 Mr. Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, having obtained a grant of land within the limits of Massachusetts, sent two ships, and fifty or sixty men, to begin a plantation at the place, which has been since called Weymouth, about midway between Plymouth and Boston. But the colonists were of a dissolute character, and therefore totally unqualified for such an enterprise. The Indians whom they abused formed a plot for their destruction; but it was prevented from issuing fatally, by the interference of the Plymouth settlers. The colony, however, was ruined the same year. Several other attempts of a similar nature were made soon after, but failed.

In 1628, March 19th, the council of Plymouth sold to Sir Henry Roswell and others, their heirs and associates, that part of New-England which lies between two boundaries, one three miles north of the Merrimac, and the other three miles south of Charles river, from the Atlantic to the South Sea.

The same year Mr. Endicot, one of the patentees, came to New-England, and planted himself with a small colony in Naumkeag, now Salem. The following year they were joined by about two hundred others, making three hundred in the whole. One hundred of them, however, removed the same year, and settled themselves, with the consent of Mr. Endicot, governor of the colony, at Mishawum, now Charleston.

The first neat cattle introduced into New-England were a bull and three heifers, brought from England by Mr. Winslow, afterwards governor of the colony, to Plymouth. More were imported from time to time. The second Salem company brought with them a considerable number, together with some horses, sheep, and goats. After a little period they became so numerous as to supply all the wants of the inhabitants.

The following year a numerous colony, consisting of more than fifteen hundred persons, arrived in seventeen ships. These planted themselves at Shawmut, now Boston, and in its neighbourhood. John Winthrop, Esq., had been chosen their governor in England, and was re-elected after his arrival. The character of all these colonists generally resembled that of their predecessors at Plymouth. Their religion was the same, and they had suffered for their non-conformity in the same manner. Several of them were persons of wealth and education, and several of the magistrates and ministers were very respectable for their learning, talents, and piety. Piety was indeed the common character, not unsullied by errors and faults, but nobly distinguished by that patient, regular, and conscientious continuance in well doing, which lays the fair foundation for future glory, honour, and immortality.

From this time accessions were, in a sense, received continually.

In 1631, Wahquimacut, a sachem, on Connecticut river, terrified by the power of the Pequods, and hoping that the English might be a defence to him and his people against these formidable enemies, made a journey to Boston and to Plymouth, where he strongly solicited the colonies to form a settlement in his own country. Mr. Winslow, then governor of Plymouth, thought so favourably of the proposal, that, with a view to its accomplishment, he made an excursion to Connecticut river the following autumn. The neighbouring coun-

try appeared so inviting, that, in 1633, William Holmes, of Plymouth, and a few others, entered the river in October, and sailing up to Windsor, built there a house on the south side of Windsor river, near its mouth. The Dutch, at Manhattan, hearing of this design, had however anticipated them, and erected a small fort, with two cannon, the same season at Hartford. The remains of this fortress are now visible. It was called the Hirse of Good Hope, and was the first European building erected in Connecticut. In 1635, the people of Dorchester, with their ministers, Mr. Wareham and Mr. Maverick, after sustaining innumerable distresses during a journey of fourteen days through the wilderness, planted themselves in Windsor, called by the Indians Mattaneang. Another company, with their minister, Mr. Thomas Hooker, seated themselves at Hartford, called by the Indians Suckiang. And a third, from Watertown, took possession of Pauquiaug, now Wethersfield.

The same year, John Winthrop, Esq., son of governor Winthrop, brought from England a commission, given to him by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and their associates, who had bought of Robert, Earl of Warwick, the patent of Connecticut, March 19th, 1631, empowering him "to do and execute any lawful act and thing, both in respect to the place and people, and to their own affairs, as to the dignity or office of a governor should appertain." This commission constituted him "governor of the river Connecticut, with the places adjoining thereunto, for the space of one year after his arrival." The tract, conveyed in this patent, was to extend "from the Narrhagansett river one hundred and twenty miles upon a straight line, near the shore, towards the south-west, west, and by south or west, as the coast lieth towards Virginia," and to cover the whole tract, supposed to be included within the supposed breadth, from the Western Ocean to the South Sea. The river, here called Narrhagansett, I suppose to be Patucket (which rises in Quinsigamond lake, near Worcester), because it empties into Narrhagansett Bay. The breadth seems to be the distance between the source of this river north, and the point of the shore at the termination of the line above mentioned. Thus explained, the Connecticut patent would include four-fifths of the State of Rhode-Island, and one fourth of

Massachusetts. But the truth is, this patent, as well as most others, was given and received by men, to whom the geography of the country was nearly unknown, and in whose eyes it was of too little value to demand any exactness in the distribution. The spirit with which provinces were conveyed by the British government at this time, strongly resembled that with which the colonists themselves often granted lands in their own gift. To an inhabitant of the name of Parsons, the people of Northampton, some time after its settlement, granted certain tracts bordering on a brook called Broad Brook, together with all the good land lying thereabouts. Little did either of the parties think, that many of the lands contained in this despised country, would in less than half a century be sold for upwards of thirty pounds sterling an acre, for the mere purposes of cultivation. The articles agreed upon between Mr. Winthrop and the patentees, confined his future exertions to the grounds on Connecticut river, particularly those near its mouth, and required him to erect a fort for the security of the river and the safety of the planters, and houses for their accommodation. Mr. Winthrop, soon after his arrival at Boston, sent twenty men in a bark of thirty tons, to take possession of the river, and begin a fortification at its mouth. Scarcely had they begun this work, when a vessel sent by the Dutch of Manhattan appeared at the entrance of the river. But the English having mounted two cannon, forced them to retire. The fort, after it was completed, was called Saybrook Fort, from Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brook. The town in which it was built bears the same name.

Attempts were made, soon after the colonization of Plymouth, to settle New-Hampshire under the patent granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason (two active members of the council of Plymouth), comprising the country between the rivers Merrimac and Sagadahock, back to the Great Lakes and the river of Canada. A few adventurers planted themselves at Newichwannoc (Dover), in 1624. In 1629, a company of settlers, at the head of whom was Mr. John Wheelwright, a clergyman, purchased of several sachems the country between the Merrimac and Pascataqua, from the ocean as far back as the township of Amherst, about fifty miles. Several of these persons, and others with them, settled at

Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton, and Exeter. The inhabitants of these towns met with many difficulties in their progress. Their land was granted over and over again, in successive patents; and with the different patentees they had many perplexing disputes. Their climate was more severe, and their soil less fruitful than that of Massachusetts and Connecticut. They were more divided in their principles, and less harmonious in their measures, than the people of these colonies. At the same time, they had no stable government of sufficient vigour to discourage dissensions. They were also not a little perplexed by loose ministers and magistrates; such as always withdraw from regular, well-principled society, to indulge their mischievous dispositions, and establish their influence in more imperfect communities. The Indians in the neighbourhood, at the same time, were formidable; while the settlers were few, feeble, and incompetent for their own defence. The government of Great Britain paid them, for many years, very little attention. Sometimes they were under the government of Massachusetts, and probably would have been more happy, had they continued in this situation to the present hour. When the commission establishing a new government, and constituting New-Hampshire a royal province, was brought to Portsmouth by Edward Randolph, January 1, 1680, it was received with great reluctance by the persons nominated in it to the presidency and council. The first general assembly which met at Portsmouth on the 16th of the following March, wrote to the general court at Boston, acknowledging the kindness of that colony, in taking them under their protection, and ruling them well. They declared, that they had not sought a separation from them, and would have been glad had it never taken place. In this assembly, Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton, and Exeter, were the only towns which were represented.

In 1636, the settlement of the colony of Rhode-Island was begun at Providence, originally Moshawsic, by Mr. Roger Williams, with his associates. This gentleman came to New-England in the year 1631, and was chosen as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Skelton, at Salem. His peculiar opinions had given offence to the magistrates before his ordination. After he was ordained, he persuaded the church at Salem to send admonitory letters to that of Boston, and to several

others, in which they accused the magistrates, who were members of them, of gross offences, and denied the character of purity to all the churches but their own. It will naturally be supposed, that these letters were not very favourably received. Soon after, Mr. Williams impeached and denied the purity even of the Salem church, and separated himself from it, because it would not refuse to hold communion with the other churches in New-England. In the mean time, he separated from his own wife, and would perform no act of religious worship when she was present, because she attended Divine service at the church in Salem. He also influenced Mr. Endicot to cut the cross out of the king's colours, as being a relic of anti-christian superstition; and taught, that it was not lawful for a pious man to commune in family prayer, or in taking an oath, with persons whom he judged to be unregenerate. He would not take, nor, so far as was in his power, suffer others to take, the oath of fidelity, because the magistrates who administered it were, in his view, unrenewed. He also taught, that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray. You will easily see from these principles, that one side of Mr. Williams's character was that of a zealot; of the class, which in New-England are styled Separatists, and which consists of men of vivid imaginations, ardent feelings, and rigid views. Some of these men are honest in their intentions. Others, and I am apprehensive much the greater number, are the sport of their passions and imaginations, victims to spiritual pride, and wholly undeserving either of respect or confidence. Mr. Williams I fully believe to have been an upright man. What was very remarkable, he held the very just, as well as liberal opinion, which one would hardly expect to find united with those mentioned above, "that to punish a man for any matters of his conscience is persecution." Efforts were made to reclaim this gentleman, but they were made in vain. He was, therefore, banished from Massachusetts.

In 1638, Mr. William Coddington, one of the original planters of Massachusetts, a respectable merchant in Boston, and one of the first assistants, disgusted with the proceedings of the government against the antinomians, and not improbably attached to their doctrines, having sold his estate, quitted the jurisdiction, and, with a number of his associates, settled on

the island of Aquidnick, in Narrhagansett Bay, and named it Rhode-Island.

The discovery of the district of Maine, by John Cabot, in 1497, and the attempt to settle Parker's Island in 1607, have been already mentioned. Several spots were settled by the French, so far, at least, as the establishment of trading houses can be called a settlement, early in the seventeenth century. The colony at Plymouth, having a part of this country, about the river Kennebec, included in their patent, took possession of it in 1626. Pemaquid, Newcastle, Brunswick, and some other places, were planted before the year 1640. Other settlements were made on the coast, with a very slow progress, and in the midst of many dangers and sufferings. The inhabitants few, and in a great measure defenceless, were always peculiar objects of French and Indian hostility, and the country lay for a long time under the most discouraging imputations. Serious attempts towards its general colonization seem never to have been made until after the peace of Paris.

The settlement of Vermont will be mentioned in another place.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XI.

Difficulties encountered by the Colonists of New-England. Wars with the Indians. Hostility of King James II. Troubles arising from the neighbourhood of the French in Canada. Opposition of the British Government to the Rights of the Colonies. Oppressive Measures of Parliament, which terminated in the Revolutionary War, and in the Independence of the United States.

DEAR SIR;

IN the preceding Letter I gave you an account of the settlement of New-England. In perusing it you cannot fail to observe, that the great body of the colonists left their native country, and planted themselves in the forests of America, with a supreme regard to the enjoyment of their liberty and their religion. You cannot but have observed also, that the difficulties which they had to encounter were very great. It is scarcely possible for an European to conceive of the hardships which attend a new settlement, even on our present frontiers; where the country which surrounds him is able to supply all the planter's wants, and to satisfy even his wishes for convenience and luxury; where he can make known his sufferings to his near friends within a few days, and can easily summon them to the assistance of himself and his family. At the same time, he is safe from the intrusion of savage beasts and savage men; and both his family and his flocks lie down in security and peace. When he adventures into the forest with his family, which is usually after he has laboured there himself at least one and often two seasons, he conveys them in waggons drawn by his own horses, drives before him a number of cattle and a flock of sheep: and what provisions his land has not furnished, he carries with him in sufficient quantities to last at least one year. Often he finds a good road already formed, reaching almost if not quite to his own dwelling. The protection of an established government secures him from

every invasion of his rights, and enables him to enjoy, undivided, every lawful fruit of his labour. All these things, I acknowledge, are not true in all instances of such settlement. But, where they all exist, the difficulties and sufferings attendant upon the business of forming a plantation in the wilderness are such as to demand not a small share of that resolution and enterprise for which the people of New-England are so remarkably distinguished.

The difficulties encountered by our ancestors were far more in number, and greater in degree. They were three thousand miles from civilized ground. Yet from such ground all their supplies must for a considerable season be derived. The failure of a ship affected them as much, perhaps more, than the failure of a harvest would affect their descendants at the present time. The government of their native country had no disposition to foster them; and did not often meddle with their concerns, unless to create them trouble or alarm. At the same time, all its wars were their wars; and the Frenchman, who appeared in the European seas, only because they lay in his way to America, and whose only enterprise was a mere struggle to escape, became terrible to the hamlets and villages of a defenceless coast, often unprovided with the means of resisting the cannon and crew of a single ship. With the business of clearing the country, laborious even now to their descendants, long and habitually familiarized to it, they were almost absolutely unacquainted. The method, which they customarily pursued, was to dig up the stumps of the trees, which they had cut down, and remove them one by one from the field.

Every road in the country was to be made by them. In a country, abounding so much in rocks and stones, this must have been a very laborious employment, even in the most favourable circumstances. But their circumstances were often in the highest degree unfavourable.

The greatest of all the evils which they suffered were derived from the savages. These people, of whom Europeans still form very imperfect conceptions, kept the colonists, after the first hostilities commenced, in almost perpetual terror and alarm. The first annunciation of an Indian war is its actual commencement. In the hour of security, silence, and sleep,

when your enemies are supposed to be friends, quietly employed in hunting and fishing; when they are believed to be at the distance of several hundred miles, and perfectly thoughtless of you or yours; when thus unsuspecting, thus at ease, slumbering on your pillow, your sleep is broken up by the war-whoop; your house and village are set on fire; your family and friends are butchered and scalped; yourself and a few other wretched survivors are hurried into captivity to be roasted alive at the stake; or have your body stuck full of skewers and burnt by inches. You are a farmer, and have gone abroad to the customary business of the field. There you are shot down from behind a tree in the hour of perfect security; or you return at evening, and find your house burnt and your family vanished; or, perhaps, discover their half-consumed bones mingled with the ashes of your dwelling, or your wife murdered, and your little ones lying beside her, after having been dashed against a tree.

With these enemies the colonists had to contend from the year 1675, when the first general war, called Philip's war, commenced, to the year 1783. Within this period there were seven wars with them. The first was excited by Philip, and confined to the savages. The five following were stimulated by the French. The last was produced by Great Britain herself, during the Revolution. All these were carried on with Indian cunning, treachery, and cruelty. Of their effects I shall give you several specimens in the progress of these Letters. To the efficacy of these causes of suffering were superadded, in those originated by the French, the power of all such motives as the sinuous ingenuity of that singular nation could invent, their wealth furnish, or their bigotry adopt. Here all the implements of war and the means of sustenance were supplied; the expedition was planned; the price was bidden for scalps; the aid of European officers and soldiers was conjoined; the devastation and slaughter were sanctioned by the ministers of religion; and the blood-hounds, while their fangs were yet dropping blood, were caressed and cherished by men, regarded by them as superior beings, and professing themselves to be followers of the Saviour. Concerning the last of these wars, that which was stimulated by the British government, let me recal to your remembrance

the sentiments of your own illustrious countryman. This great man (" take him for all in all," neither you nor your countrymen " will ever look upon his like again"), when addressing the House of Peers on this subject, expressed himself in the following terms. Lord Suffolk, you will remember, had proposed to parliament to employ the Indians against the Americans, and said that " they had a right to use all the means, which God and nature had put into their hands, to conquer America." The noble Chatham replied, " My lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions, standing near the throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. 'That God and nature have put into our hands!' I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and nature; but I know, that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity.

" What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife! to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating! literally, my lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me, as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity."

The intervals between these formal wars were usually seasons of desultory mischief, plunder, and butchery; and always of suspense and dread. The solitary family was carried into captivity; the lonely house burnt to the ground, and the traveller way-laid, and shot in the forest. In a word, these seasons were mere interludes, in which were effectually preserved the spirit and character of the preceding and succeeding acts of the drama. It ought however to be observed to the immortal honour of these people, distinguished as they are by so many traits of brutal ferocity, that history records no instance, in which the purity of a female captive was violated by them, or even threatened*!

* This remarkable continence of the American savages has, by many Europeans, been attributed to a frosty insensibility of constitution. Their manner of living is certainly such as might naturally prevent that intense-

On the troubles which the colonists met with him from the government of their parent country I shall not expatiate. The king almost continually threatened the colonies with the loss of their charters. Every man who came over to New-England with feelings hostile to the inhabitants; who disliked

ness of sensual passion, which is the result of the stimulating powers of luxury. With this apprehension, I came to the reading of the works of European philosophers; and finding them unite in alleging this excuse as the real one, without a contradiction from any quarter, I concluded that the allegation was just. Still, as I have been frequently misled by a philosophy, contrived at the distance of three thousand miles from the facts, and liberally furnishing its explanations before it had ascertained the facts to be explained, I was too little satisfied not to inquire further. In answer to my questions, the Rev. Mr. Kirkland informed me, in the year 1798, that the young Indians of both sexes have the same attachments which are found in civilised nations, and in a degree not inferior; that rivals for the affection of a favourite mistress, become of friends bitter enemies, and carry their mutual resentments to every desperate length; and that the young men, when they offer themselves in marriage and are rejected, give themselves up at times to deep melancholy, in some instances terminated, if I mistake not, by suicide.

The Hon. Timothy Edwards, of Stockbridge, a commissioner of Indian affairs, long and intimately acquainted with the Indian character and manners, upon hearing the passage referred to in this note read, informed me, that this specimen of Indian moderation was not derived at all from the want of sexual passion, but from a very different source. He observed, that after the Indian youth have grown to such years as enable them to comprehend and feel the full import of such instruction, the old men, going round from house to house, enjoin upon them this abstinence in the most solemn and forcible manner. "Remember," they customarily say to these objects of their care, "that you are men: that if you behave as you ought, you may be expert hunters, and renowned warriors. Your proper business is to acquire glory. You are to pursue the deer, and to vanquish the wolf, the bear, and the catamount. You are to uphold the honour of your nation; to subdue its enemies; and to return home from war, loaded with spoils, and crowned with victory. The old men are to point you out as heroes, and the virgins are to sing your praises. Yield not yourselves then to weak, silly, contemptible passions, which will change you into women. However beautiful your captives may be, look not at them. They will corrupt, debase, and destroy you. Your glory will wither; you will lose the name of men. Your fathers did not thus. They scaled the mountains to chase the bear, and the scalps of their enemies adorned their weekwams. Follow their steps; be men, and let your names go down to future generations as theirs have come down to you." These injunctions, reiterated at the most susceptible period of life, by men of the first distinction in the tribe, furnish the real explanation of the remarkable fact mentioned in the text.

their principles, either civil or religious, the strictness of their morality, or their modes of administration; who was disappointed of the respect or the emoluments which he challenged as his due; or who, for his misbehaviour, was censured by their ecclesiastical, or punished by their civil tribunals, became their bitter enemy, and upon his return filled England with his complaints against the colonies. Among these wretches none distinguished himself so much as Edward Randolph; who, according to his own account, crossed the Atlantic sixteen times in nine years, chiefly for the purpose of destroying the liberties of New-England. This purpose he finally accomplished. A quo warranto was issued against them in 1683; and a copy of the judgment against the colony of Massachusetts, which had refused to surrender its charter, was received by Mr. Rawson, the secretary. Sir Edmund Andros, appointed governor of New-England by king James II, as he had been of New-York, summoned the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island to surrender their charters to his majesty, assuring them in this case of peculiar favour. Rhode-Island complied with the proposal. Soon after Sir Edmund came to Hartford with a guard of sixty men, demanded the charter of the general assembly then in session, and announced the dissolution of the colonial government. The debates of the assembly concerning this proposal were intentionally protracted through the remainder of the day, and part of the evening. A great number of people gathered around the state-house, prepared to resist any violence which might be used by the guards of Sir Edmund. In a moment the candles were put out; and a Captain Wadsworth took the charter, and lodged it safely in the hollow of an oak, standing before the house of Hon. Samuel Wyllys, in Hartford, a member of the colonial council. This tree deserved well of the Connecticut people for concealing the invaluable deposit, and might with no less propriety have been transmitted to the reverence of future generations in the New-England primer, than

> "The royal oak, which was the tree,
> That saved his Royal Majesty."

In this crisis the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and compelling James II to leave the kingdom, assumed the

crown, to the general joy of the nation. New-England was in an ecstacy. The inhabitants of Boston seized Sir Edmund, with about fifty of his associates, and put them in close confinement. Here he was kept until he was ordered back to Great Britain. Connecticut and Rhode-Island immediately resumed their charters, and re-established their former government. Massachusetts soon after obtained a new charter, in some respects better, in some worse, than the old one. Each of the colonies continued to exercise its government until the year 1775. Rhode-Island and Connecticut have continued theirs, with no considerable alterations, to the present time*.

The French very early projected a settlement in America. James Cartier, so early as 1534, discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The following year he sailed up the river of that name three hundred leagues, and gave its name to the island of Montreal. In 1540, he began a settlement near Quebec, which he called Charleburgh. In 1608, Monsieur Champlaine laid the foundations of Quebec. In 1622, the colony consisted of fifty persons only, and in 1628 was taken out of the hands of the French Protestants by Cardinal Richelieu, and placed in the hands of a company, of which himself was the head. In 1629, the colony was conquered by three brothers, David, Louis, and Thomas Kertk, and was restored again to France, in 1632, by Charles II. After this the settlement of the colony was countenanced by the French government. In 1685, its population amounted to 17,000. The first war, carried on directly between Canada and the British colonies, commenced in 1688. In this and the four which succeeded it a great multitude of evils were suffered, particularly by New-England. The whole coast of the Atlantic, from Nova Scotia to West Florida, was early claimed by Great Britain. The French beheld this vast accession of territory, and the future accession of power which it would probably bring with it to their principal enemy, with serious apprehensions. To avert the approaching evil, or at least to diminish it as far as possible, they formed, with no small sagacity, a plan for hemming in the English on the coast, and preventing them from

* In the year 1818 a new constitution was adopted by the people of Connecticut.—*Pub.*

the possession of the interior. In pursuit of this object they erected Fort Frontenac, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, and Michilimackinac, at the northern end of Lake Michigan, in 1673. About the same time I suppose them to have built Fort Niagara, near the celebrated cataract between Lakes Ontario and Erie. In 1683, they built another fortress between the Lakes Erie and Huron. New-Orleans they settled in 1717. In 1731, they built a fort on Crown Point in Lake Champlaine. In 1753, they built Fort Erie on Presque Isle, on the south side of Lake Erie. Following the same plan and the same direction, they erected a fort on Alleghany river; another at the confluence of that river with the Monongahela, which they called Fort Du Quesne; two others on the more southern branches of the Ohio, and some others along the Mississippi. In this manner they formed a complete chain of communication between New-Orleans and Quebec, a distance of more than two thousand miles; shut up the English within narrow limits, and secured the great body of the savages in their own interests.

It was not possible that such a plan should fail of developing itself. It was seen, felt, and dreaded. Measures were early adopted to counteract it; and, among them, several expeditions were undertaken for the reduction of Canada. But the parties, who were to co-operate, and on each of which the other placed an unwarrantable dependence, were separated by a distance of three thousand miles. Besides, the French are more active in all their movements than the British; and a despotic government adopts its measures with more secrecy, and executes them with more dispatch, than one founded on principles of liberty. Hence the measures, actually adopted for the reduction of Canada, universally failed, except that of the Kertks, and that conducted by Generals Wolfe and Amherst. Some of them perished in the bud, the rest were blasted and withered in their growth.

The British colonists, however, were settled beneath a kinder sky; were originally far more numerous than the French; were better skilled in the arts of life; were better educated; had better morals, and a better religion; and were in every respect a superior race of men. The French gentlemen, who ruled Canada, were often intelligent, brave, active, and not unfre-

quently more sagacious in the management of its military interests than most of their enemies, who were in the administration of government. One man also, here as well as in France, controlled every civil and military movement, while the affairs of the British colonies were committed to many hands, and among them to many legislatures, slow in their deliberations; discordant in their views; each consulting its own private interest, and therefore irresolute in its decisions and feeble in its efforts. At the same time, it has for ages been a primary characteristic of the French, as a nation, to study all means of rendering themselves agreeable to those from whom they hope for any advantage. The grave, unbending, independent spirit of a Briton, though productive of much self-complacency, is ill fitted to recommend him to others. All men, even savages, discern and feel this difference of character in those, with whom they are connected, in a moment; and all discern and feel it alike.

"Studious to please, and ready to submit,"

says Johnson, with great force and justice, and with not a little severity,

"The supple Gaul was born a parasite;
Still to his interest true, where'er he goes,
Wit, bravery, worth, his lavish tongue bestows;
These arts in vain our rugged natives try,
Strain out with faultering diffidence a lie,
And get a kick for awkward flattery."

"For arts like these, preferr'd, admir'd, caress'd,
They first invade your table, then your breast;
Explore your secrets with insidious art,
Watch the weak hour, and ransack all the heart;
Then soon your ill-plac'd confidence repay
Commence your lords, and govern, or betray."

Accordingly, availing themselves of the advantages which I have mentioned, they supplied the deficiency of their own strength by summoning to their assistance the treachery and ferocity of their savage auxiliaries. In this manner they maintained for a long time a controversy, otherwise unequal, with at least doubtful success. At length, however, they were compelled to yield to the superior efforts of their enemy.

After the reduction of Canada had freed the colonies from the distresses occasioned by the French and savages, and given them a short interval of repose, troubles invaded them from a new and unexpected quarter. The parent-country began, speedily, to interfere in their civil concerns, in a manner which excited the most serious alarm.

In 1764, the year following the peace of Paris, the British parliament passed an act, which levied a duty on foreign sugar and molasses, and, of course, raised the prices of those articles to the colonies. This act excited, on this side of the Atlantic, not a little uneasiness. On the 10th of January, the following year, was passed the famous stamp act, which produced very serious additions to the discontent awakened by the preceding measure. Several of the colonial legislatures immediately passed resolutions, strongly expressing their dissatisfaction, and declaring the act to be a violation of their own rights and of the British constitution. A colonial congress, appointed by nine colonies out of twelve, assembled at New-York, and published a declaration of their rights and their grievances. The rights, on which they chiefly insisted, were those of trial by jury, and of exclusively taxing themselves. The stamp act was the grievance of which they most loudly complained. They also sent a petition to the king, and memorials to the two houses of parliament. The legislatures of Virginia, North-Carolina, and Georgia, although hindered by their respective governors from sending delegates, were not less engaged in the common cause. Open opposition was made to the execution of the act, immediately after the first attempts to enforce it, in all the colonies north of the Carolinas, and was in some instances attended by disorder and violence. The merchants of New-York, Philadelphia, and Boston, entered into voluntary engagements neither to import nor to sell, as agents, any British goods, so long as this offensive measure should be continued. At the same time, it met with vigorous opposition from some of the ablest statesmen in the British nation. It was never executed in the colonies; and on the 18th of March, 1766, was repealed.

On June 29th, of the following year, an act was passed, imposing a duty to be collected in the colonies on tea, paper, glass, and painters' colours, and enabling the crown to establish,

indefinitely, a general civil list throughout its North American possessions, with such salaries as it might think proper. By a preceding act, in 1765, the colonial assemblies had been required to provide quarters for the soldiers, and to furnish them with beds, candles, fuel, &c. The legislature of New-York refused to comply with these requisitions, and was, therefore, suspended from the exercise of its legislative powers. After this a custom-house and a board of commissioners were established in the colonies. With the views entertained of their rights by the colonists, it was impossible that these measures should fail of exciting the most serious alarms, or of producing the most determined opposition. On February 11th, 1768, the legislature of Massachusetts wrote a circular letter to its sister legislatures, urging a general union in such measures as might terminate in a redress of their grievances. This letter the representatives were required in the August following to rescind. The legislature refused, and the next day was dissolved. The majority was ninety-two, the minority seventeen. Two British regiments arrived at Boston on the 28th of September. The council refused to provide them quarters. Part of them were lodged in the state-house; and all the disagreeable and provoking incidents naturally derived from these facts, instead of awing the inhabitants, only awakened strong emotions of resentment. Parliament, however, approved of them all; and presented a joint address to his majesty, in which it was recommended, that offenders from Massachusetts should be brought for trial to Great Britain. The alarm excited by this proposal you will easily imagine. The legislature of Virginia, and afterwards those of South-Carolina, Maryland, Delaware, North-Carolina, and New-York, passed spirited resolutions, strongly disapproving of the measures pursued by the parent country. The legislature of Massachusetts the following May, after requesting the governor to remove the troops from Boston, and declaring their presence to be inconsistent with the rights of an independent legislature, absolutely refused to make provision for their support.

On the 5th of March, in an affray between the soldiers and the inhabitants, three of the latter were killed, and five dangerously wounded. The persons concerned in their death were all tried by the superior court of the province, and a jury

of the vicinage; and except two, who were convicted of manslaughter, were acquitted. In 1771, about 1,500 men rose in arms in the state of North-Carolina, assuming the name of Regulators, with a professed intention of stopping the courts of justice, and not improbably with the secret one of destroying the government. Governor Tryon, at the head of a thousand militia, defeated them at Almansee, May 16th, killed three hundred, and dispersed the rest. Twelve of the insurgents were afterwards tried, and six executed. In 1772, the people of Rhode-Island destroyed the Gaspee armed schooner, after a series of unnecessary provocations. In the same year the inhabitants of Boston chose the first committee of correspondence in the colonies. The following year the house of burgesses in Virginia chose another. Soon after, parliament authorized the East-India Company to export tea, free of duties. This was an insidious effort against the colonies. The real intention was, that the tea, as it would come cheaper to the colonists, should thus be secured of a sale, and the American duty insensibly paid upon it. Thus, it was supposed, a habit of paying this obnoxious duty would commence, and be gradually established. The Americans regarded the effort with the most hostile jealousy, and publicly declared the man who should countenance it an enemy to his country. It was sent to Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The inhabitants of New-York and Philadelphia returned the tea-ships to England. The inhabitants of Boston attempted to do the same; but being unable, several persons in disguise boarded the ships, and threw the tea into the dock. The people of Charleston unloaded the ships, and stored the tea.

In consequence of these measures, parliament passed three other hostile acts. By the first, the port of Boston was shut up; by the second, the charter and a great part of the privileges of the colony were destroyed; by the third, persons who should be indicted for any capital offence, committed in aiding the government, might be sent by the governor to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial. These acts, as you will believe, increased not a little the agitation of the colonists. The sufferings of the Bostonians, consequent upon the loss of their trade, were mitigated by continual contributions raised throughout every part of the country; and the day on which

these sufferings began was generally observed as a day of public mourning.

The general court of Massachusetts assembled at the annual period in May; and were removed from Boston to Salem by the governor, early in June. There they resolved, that a general congress of the colonies was necessary for the common safety, and chose five persons as their delegates. All the colonies, except Georgia, speedily adopted the measure. On the 4th of September, 1774, this congress met, and chose unanimously Peyton Randolph their president. They sat eight weeks; published a declaration of rights; mentioned the acts by which they were violated; and resolved, that the repeal of them was necessary to the restoration of public harmony. They agreed also upon a stoppage of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain; and drew up an address to the King, another to the people of Great Britain, and a third to those of British America. After resolving that another congress should be held on the 10th of May, they broke up. The recommendations of this body had all the efficacy of law, and were even more punctiliously executed.

In the mean time several additional regiments arrived at Boston. A guard was stationed on the neck, or isthmus, which joins that peninsula to the main. The powder contained in the arsenal at Charleston was seized, and that in the magazine at Boston retained. Governor Gage summoned a general assembly, but speedily afterwards suspended their meeting. The proclamation issued for this purpose was considered as illegal; and ninety of the members met, resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourned to Concord, and soon after to Cambridge. There they employed themselves in planning the defence of the province; resolved, that twelve thousand men should be prepared for any emergency, and a fourth part of the militia enlisted as minute-men, under pay; and appointed five general officers to command these troops. They also requested the people of New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut, to co-operate with them in raising an army, and solicited the clergy of Massachusetts to aid the general design with their influence.

In the beginning of the year 1773, the lords and commons, after refusing to hear a petition from the congress to the king,

referred to them by his majesty, declared in a joint address, that a rebellion actually existed in the province of Massachusetts'-Bay, and besought his majesty to take the most effectual measures to enforce obedience to the laws and to the parliament. They then passed a bill to restrain the trade of New-England, and another to restrain that of the middle and southern states.

On the 26th of February, General Gage sent Lieutenant-Colonel Leslie with one hundred and forty soldiers to Salem, by water, to seize a quantity of military stores deposited in that town. Not finding the stores, he returned, after some dispute with the inhabitants, to Boston.

On the 18th of April following a body of troops was sent, under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, to seize some military stores at Concord. As they passed through Lexington, they found a company of minute-men on the parade under arms. Major Pitcairn rode up to them, and ordered them to disperse. As they were less expeditious in obeying him than he wished, he discharged a pistol, and commanded his soldiers to fire.

Thus issued a train of unwise and useless measures, begun without consideration or knowledge, pursued with pride and passion, persisted in with a foolish obstinacy, and productive of calamities numberless and incalculable. The scheme of raising a revenue from the colonies was idle and visionary. They already returned to Great Britain all the surplus produce of their farms and fisheries, and in a way beyond comparison more profitable, both to the people and the government of the parent country, than that proposed in this design. These supplies also were annually and rapidly increasing with the population of the colonies. The mass of custom for British productions and manufactures, already great, annually became greater. Nor was the period very distant when a sufficient market would be furnished in her transatlantic possessions for all those manufactures which the colonists had occasion to consume.

The end of a century from the year 1764, when this evil commenced, will, if no great public calamity should prevent, see the United States inhabited by thirty millions of people. A train of wise, just, and moderate measures might have re-

tained all these in as close an union with the parent country as could be reasonably wished.

It may, perhaps, be thought, that such a mass of population would of course have become impatient of a subordinate character; and revolted, from a mere wish to become independent. I will not deny that there are grounds for this opinion. The event certainly would have been possible; and reasons, of considerable weight, may fairly be alleged in favour of its probability. There are, however, strong reasons against it. The attachment of the colonists to the country, the people, and the government of Great Britain was extreme; and rendered vigorous by habits, continued through one hundred and fifty years, and unimpaired by all the untoward events which through that period had often threatened their very existence. In spite of these events, their attachments to Great Britain had regularly increased in strength. The parent country, the mother country, were its most usual names in their customary language. To visit it was regularly styled going home. Language, manners, and customs essentially the same, united the colonists to their brethren with their peculiar influence. At the same time they justly regarded the British nation as, under God, the only safeguard of the Protestant religion.

It is ever to be remembered, also, that the colonists, although inhabiting the same country, and united by descent, language, religion, and manners, and (if disposed to see and feel them) in all their real interests, were much less attached to each other than to their parent country. They felt themselves to be as widely separated as communities, situated as they were, could be. Their views and wishes were in many respects opposed and hostile. Each was inclined to dislike, censure, ridicule, and depress its neighbour. Even for the purposes of common defence they had never been cordially and fairly united. The degree of union which subsisted during the revolution was the result, not of affection, but of fears and burthens only. At the moment when these fears were ended, they resumed their alienation, and were advancing fast towards open hostility, when new burthens and fears forced them to adopt their present form of government. Even under this they are very imperfectly united.

I will only add, that, in the month of July 1775, I urged, in

conversation with several gentlemen of great respectability, firm whigs, and my intimate friends, the importance, and even the necessity of a declaration of independence on the part of the colonies, and alleged for this measure the very same arguments which afterwards were generally considered as decisive; but found them disposed to give me and my arguments a hostile and contemptuous, instead of a cordial reception. Yet at this time all the resentment and enthusiasm, awakened by the odious measures of parliament, by the peculiarly obnoxious conduct of the British agents in this country, and by the recent battles of Lexington and Breed's Hill *, were at the highest pitch. These gentlemen may be considered as representatives of the great body of thinking men in this country. A few may perhaps be excepted, but none of these durst at that time openly declare their opinions to the public. For myself, I regarded the die as cast, and the hopes of reconciliation as vanished; and believed, that the colonists would never be able to defend themselves unless they renounced their dependence on Great Britain.

Of the subsequent events of the revolutionary war I shall hereafter have occasion to take some notice. But they have been so often given to the public, that it will be unnecessary to detail them here. It will be sufficient to observe in this place, that, after eight years of disastrous victories and defeats, Great Britain acknowledged the colonies to be independent; and that both parties in the controversy sat down to repair their losses, and alleviate their sufferings, by such means as were in their power.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Erroneously styled the battle of Bunker's Hill.

LETTER XII.

Charges preferred against the Colonists of New-England examined; viz. their separation from the Church of England; their Superstition; their Rigidness; their Observance of the Sabbath with Jewish rigour; their adoption of the Municipal Law of the Jews; their Resistance to the British Government; their Oppression of the Aborigines.

DEAR SIR;

YOU will undoubtedly believe, that the censures, which I have heretofore mentioned as so extensively cast upon the early settlers of New-England, were not wholly unmerited. I admit the rationality of this conclusion, and will now proceed to make some observations concerning what I deem the faulty side of their character. This I will endeavour to do without partiality.

In their separation from the Church of England I think them justifiable; although, for myself, I should find no difficulty in worshipping under a conscientious and evangelical minister of that church; nor feel any considerable embarrassment in conducting, for a congregation, who seriously chose it, their worship according to the prescriptions of her Liturgy. It is true, I do not think this the best mode of conducting public worship. Still I think it a good one, and fully believe, that it has proved the means of conversion, and of distinguished moral excellence, to very great multitudes of my fellow men. I will go farther, and acknowledge cheerfully what I really believe, that the English church has done more than most others to promote the cause of Christianity. I will acknowledge also, that our ancestors were more solicitous about the surplice and the ceremonies than their importance required; if, indeed, these were the real causes of their solicitude. Provided a minister

is dressed with decency, I am perfectly willing that he should regulate his own dress. If my neighbour chooses to worship kneeling, whether I myself kneel or stand, I shall certainly not disturb him. Against the use of the sign of the cross in baptism I should certainly object; but could have worshipped very quietly with those who used it, if I found in them no other or greater errors. I could have submitted to the ecclesiastical government of a bishop; for I believe a bishop to be an authorised minister of the Gospel, although I cannot find a single trace of the prelatical character in the New Testament; and fully believe the declaration made in the "Institution of a Christian Man" (a work approved by your king and parliament, and the main body of your clergy); that "in the New Testament there is no mention made of any other degrees, but of deacons or ministers, and of presbyters or bishops." Still, many of your own prelatical bishops have rendered such important service to Christianity, that I cannot hesitate to regard them with high respect. Generally, I should never quarrel with a low churchman on account of his principles, but should never expect to harmonize very cordially with those of a Jacobite. Had I been born under the ministry of the late Mr. Milner, of Hull; the late Mr. Walker, of Truro; or of any one among multitudes whom I could name in your church, I should probably have considered myself as placed in desirable circumstances for the attainment of eternal life.

But I could not have submitted to the edicts of the First or of the Second James. I could not have submitted to the dominion of archbishop Laud. I could not submit to any man requiring of me the profession of doctrines, which I did not believe, or conformity to worship, which the Scriptures have not enjoined. The ablutions of the Pharisees were trifles, in a great measure harmless, so long as they were regarded in the character of things, which might be conveniently done. But when they were enjoined upon others, and were announced to be binding upon the conscience, they became fraught with danger and mischief.

God alone is lord of the conscience, and nothing but what he has required can become an institution in the religious sense. This is a field into which man cannot enter without intrusion. Here neither king nor pontiff, neither parliament

nor general council, have either rights or powers. A religious law can be formed only by Divine authority, and can be found only in the Scriptures. Those, who "teach for doctrines the commandments of men," will ever worship God in vain. With these views, I should certainly have been a non-conformist. Were I now to censure your church, my objections would principally lie against her dereliction of her articles, the relaxation of her discipline, and the legalised introduction of civil and military officers, as such, to her eucharist. This your king and parliament have no right to require. To this your clergy cannot, so far as I see, conscientiously submit. When, therefore, you feel hereafter disposed to censure the early settlers of New-England, for suffering none to hold public offices beside professors of religion, remember, that they followed with more good sense, and incomparably more consistency with the dictates of religion, the plan marked out by your own government. Your government required all its officers to partake of the Lord's Supper. These men chose their officers out of such as could lawfully partake of this ordinance.

The settlers of New-England fled from persecution. Every government in the Christian world claimed, at that time, the right to control the religious conduct of its subjects. This claim, it is true, finds no warrant in the Scriptures. But its legitimacy had never been questioned, and therefore never investigated. All that was then contended for was, that it should be exercised with justice and moderation. Our ancestors brought with them to America the very same opinions concerning this subject, which were entertained by their fellow-citizens, and by all other men of all Christian countries. As they came to New-England, and underwent all the hardships incident to colonizing it, for the sake of enjoying their religion unmolested, they naturally were very reluctant that others, who had borne no share of their burthens, should wantonly intrude upon this favourite object, and disturb the peace of themselves and their families. With these views, they began to exercise the claim which I have mentioned, and, like the people of all other countries, carried the exercise to lengths which nothing can justify. But it ought ever to be remembered, that no other civilized nation can take up the first stone to cast against them. An Englishman certainly must, if he look into the ec-

clesiastical annals of his own country, be for ever silent on the subject. It ought also to be remembered, that they scrupulously abstained from disturbing all others, and asked nothing of others, but to be unmolested at home.

They have been accused of superstition. In some degree I think this accusation just. To what nation is it not applicable? Their descendants hung the witches at Salem, and for this conduct merited the severest censure. Look into the records of your own courts, and you will be obliged, for the same reason, to fasten the same censure upon your own country. This, you will say, does not at all excuse the people of New-England. You say it justly. Still it shows that the New-England people were as little stained with this guilt, as those, who with no little indecency exult over their faults and errors.

It ought to be here observed, that a belief in the existence and power of witches, although unwarranted either by reason or revelation, has been the universal belief of man. From causes, which I may find an opportunity to mention elsewhere, it is probably true, that no people on the globe, at the present time, give so little credit to things of this imaginary nature as the people of this very country. Even conjurers and fortune-tellers, who so easily fascinate the curiosity of mankind, and acquire an importance in the eye of fancy, which reason reprobates, are generally regarded here with contempt and ridicule.

Rigidness is connected, of course, with superstition, and is perhaps always attendant also upon a state of controversy, whether real or apprehended. Where we feel ourselves in danger of being attacked, we are apt to be on our guard against the invader. Where demands, in our apprehension unfounded and unreasonable, are either made upon us, or expected, we fortify ourselves, watchfully, against every compliance. What in other circumstances we should cheerfully yield, in these we strenuously refuse, and, sedulously attentive to the main object, are little solicitous concerning our subordinate measures, whether reasonable or rigid, whether moderate or excessive. The settlers of New-England came to America precisely in these circumstances. They left Great Britain with a strong and habitual sense of the inequitable

controversy; which for many years they had been forced to sustain. Men, who leave their country, and lose their all for the sake of their religion, must be supposed to be unbending. The contention which drove them from home followed them across the Atlantic, varied, indeed, in its form, but the same in its nature: opposed to the same principles, and threatening the same interests. Of the rectitude of these principles, generally, they had every reason to be satisfied; and of the value of these interests they had strong, and even noble, conceptions. They watched both, therefore, with an ardour which nothing could impair, and a vigilance which nothing could fatigue. In such circumstances no men would be remiss, and virtuous men could hardly fail, infirm as our nature is, to be unnecessarily exact.

They have been censured for observing the sabbath with a Jewish rigour. If this intends that they re-enacted the Jewish penalties for the non-observance of this sacred day, the charge is untrue. If it intends that they regarded the day as sacred, and as required by the Universal Lawgiver to be wholly consecrated to religion, except so far as its hours are demanded for necessary and charitable employments, the charge is true, but ceases to convey a censure. In this there is nothing rigid, unless we choose to attribute rigidness to the Creator, for it is nothing more than he has required. The creed of these men was in substance the same with that of your own church, and that of the Protestant churches generally. By those churches, therefore, it will not be censured. To the doctrines and duties involved in it they adhered, I acknowledge, with a strictness not very common. In some particulars they were unnecessarily exact, and in some others perhaps less catholic, than the most enlightened spirit of the Gospel would dictate. At the same time, a strict adherence to the commands of God, and the duties of religion, even when attended with some disagreeable peculiarities, cannot fail to receive both the respect and the applause of every virtuous man.

The settlers of New-England have been also censured for adopting, to a considerable extent, the municipal law of the Jews. Justice demands that they be acquitted from all intention of making the Jewish law their own permanent system of regulations. That they had no apprehension of any obligation,

under which themselves or other Christians lay to obey this law, as their own civil code, is evident from the fact, that they departed from it immediately, to a great extent, and afterwards varied from it still farther, as their own circumstances required. They reverenced it, indeed, as Christians feel themselves bound to reverence every institution of God. At the same time, the mildness and humanity, so conspicuous in many of its regulations, recommended it strongly to their esteem and attachment. To lessen the number of human actions, of which death is made the retribution, from one hundred to fourteen, must have been a delightful employment to a benevolent legislator; and any means of sufficient authority to give effectual aid in the accomplishment of such a work, must have been welcomed with ardour. The Jewish municipal law was, without a question, designed exclusively to regulate the public concerns of that nation. Still, its great principles of equity are now found in the statutes of every enlightened people, and constitute the basis of all its penal regulations. Our ancestors differed from other civilized people, with respect to this subject, more in professing their design, than in carrying it into execution. They were, perhaps, too fondly attached to the Jewish system; but should not, I think, be deeply censured for this attachment by a nation, which, for some years, has in its penal code registered one hundred and seventy-six crimes as objects of capital punishment.

Perhaps you will number also their resistance, on various occasions, to the British government, in the list of their faults. That men, who had smarted so severely under that government in their native country, should be jealous of its intrusions upon their happiness and safety in this, cannot be thought surprising. At the same time, they came to New-England with a full conviction, that they were subject, so far as their domestic affairs were concerned, to no external jurisdiction beside that of the British crown. While they lived in England, they regarded it, with all other Englishmen, as their native, indefeasible right to be subject to no laws, except those which were made by their own representatives. When they came to America, they believed themselves, and were often declared by the crown to bring with them all the rights of Englishmen; and, of course, this, which was the basis of all others. It is

not strange, therefore, that they should mark every invasion of this right with extreme jealousy, and resist it strenuously with all the means in their power. For myself, I regard this conduct as highly honourable, and cannot easily believe that it will be censured by any genuine Briton. Where would have been the liberty of your country, had not the same spirit steadily animated the breasts of its inhabitants?

That some excesses attended this resistance at times cannot be denied. Should you feel disposed to criminate the authors of them with severity, let me request you to turn over the pages of your own history, and see whether you do not find excesses recorded there, equal in number and degree, generated by provocations of no greater magnitude, and vindicable only on the same principles.

The last charge, which I at present remember, and which has been frequently urged against these colonists, and, like several others, has been often reiterated on this side of the water, is their abuse of the aborigines. This charge is derived either from ignorance or injustice. The annals of the world cannot furnish a single instance, in which a nation, or any other body politic, has treated its allies or its subjects, either with more justice, or more humanity, than the New-England colonists treated these people. Exclusively of the country of the Pequods, the inhabitants of Connecticut bought, unless I am deceived, every inch of ground contained within that colony, of its native proprietors. The people of Rhode-Island, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and New-Hampshire, proceeded wholly in the same equitable manner. Until Philip's war in 1675, not a single foot of ground in New-England was claimed or occupied by the colonists on any other score but that of fair purchase. The war with the Pequods, that with Philip, and that with the Narrhagansetts, were all merely defensive on the part of the colonists. The savages were the aggressors in each of them. The colonists used every hopeful and reasonable measure to avoid them. This you will not question, if you remember, that they dreaded these wars as not improbable means of their own destruction. To the lands of these people the conquerors had the usual right of conquest, with this additional circumstance in their favour, that the original inhabitants almost entirely deserted them. Such of them as remained have had lands amply

sufficient for their maintenance secured to them by the laws of the colonists down to the present time. Nor were they only secured from intrusion and violence, but also from the purchase to which themselves would have easily and imprudently yielded, and which would have been accomplished by unprincipled individuals. At the same time, agents have regularly been appointed for the management of their affairs, who have usually been men of respectability, and have periodically rendered an account of their agency to the government. These gentlemen have, in almost all instances, treated the Indians with unimpeachable equity, and with an honourable spirit of benevolence.

The prices paid for these lands will necessarily seem to an European, who cannot possibly realise the little value of a tract, forming a mere speck in a boundless forest, to have been wholly inadequate, and the result of fraud and superior skill on the part of the purchaser. Nothing is farther from the truth. The land was literally worth no more than the sum paid for it. Land in America may be advantageously regarded by an European, as having been at the settlement of this country, like water in his own, valuable in itself, but too abundant to become the subject of price. The present value of lands here does not ordinarily exceed that of the labour which has been employed on them.

I have now recited all the chief topics of accusation against the colonists of New-England. You will, I think, cheerfully agree with me, that there are not many communities, of which a fair portrait would present fewer disagreeable features.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Excellencies of the Colonists of New-England; viz. their Enterprise and Industry, their love of Science and Learning, their love of Liberty, their Morality, their Piety.

DEAR SIR;

IT can scarcely be called fair dealing, for a writer, when giving the character of a people, to recite their faults, without exhibiting at the same time their good qualities. You will permit me, therefore, to perform this part of my duty in a summary manner.

The enterprise of the original colonists is sufficiently conspicuous in the story already told of their first settlement in this country, and may be much more perfectly seen in the ampler accounts of that undertaking given by Neal, Governor Hutchinson, Mr. Prince, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Belknap, Dr. Morse, Dr. Holmes, and various others. A more hardy effort, begun with more discouraging prospects, and executed with smaller means, more unruffled patience, and more immoveable perseverance, has rarely been made by man. There is no account in the annals of colonization, in which the principal actors have left fewer memorials behind them, calculated to awaken the regret of mankind, or to call forth a blush on the faces of their descendants, or more fitted to command the admiration and applause of both. No sober New-Englander can read the history of his country, without rejoicing, that God has caused him to spring from the loins of such ancestors, and given him his birth in a country, whose public concerns were entrusted to their management.

The same enterprising character, justice obliges me to say, has been exhibited by their descendants of every generation. Their efforts against the Pequods, Philip and his associates, the Narrhagansetts, the Canadian French, the Island of Cape

Breton, and the British forces at Lexington, Breed's Hill, Stillwater, and elsewhere, were such as any nation in similar circumstances would be proud to see written on the pages of its own history. Of them all it is an honourable characteristic, that not one was undertaken for purposes of revenge, plunder, or victory, but merely from necessity and self-defence; a necessity created by their adversaries; a self-defence, on which they could with confidence ask the blessing of God. By what other people can this be said?

A gentleman of great respectability in the state of New-York, and of Dutch extraction too, being asked in a late critical period by a circle of his friends, what measures he would advise them to take, replied, "Go with the people of New-England. So far as I can find, God has never forsaken that country."

Were you an American, and had you with me traversed the several settlements made by the people of New-England in its immense forests; had you traced the hardships and discouragements with which these settlements were made; had you seen the wilderness converted by them into fruitful fields; had you surveyed the numerous, cheerful, and beautiful towns and villages, which, under their forming hand have sprung up in a desert; you would regard this mighty work as an unanswerable and delightful proof of both the enterprise and the industry of this extraordinary people.

Nor is their enterprise less conspicuous in their commercial undertakings. The spirit of commerce was brought to this country in the ship which wafted the first settlers of Plymouth over the Atlantic. Trade was opened by them with the Indians the first summer after their arrival. From that period to the present it has been regularly extended; so that ships from New-England have, for a considerable time, visited every commercial part of the globe. They catch whales in the Southern Atlantic and in the Southern Pacific, as well as in the seas of Greenland. They carry to China seal-skins from Massafuero, sea-otters from Nootka Sound, and sandal wood from the Sandwich Islands. I have seen a sloop of no great size, which has circumnavigated the globe, and a ship which has performed this navigation three times.

All these facts prove their industry, no less than their enterprise.

Their love of science and learning is amply evinced by the fact, that they have established parochial schools at such near distances as to give every child in this country, except in very recent settlements, an ample opportunity of acquiring the knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic; a work which cost the people of Scotland the labours of a century. Yet the schools of Scotland are far less numerous, less conveniently disposed, and less liberally endowed. Grammar schools also they established in all their towns, containing one hundred families. A college they founded at Cambridge, in 1638, about eight years after the first landing of the Massachusetts colony. Another was proposed in Connecticut, and another in Newhaven, then a distinct colony, not long after: but both were given up, from an apprehension that the whole country was barely sufficient to support one, an apprehension undoubtedly well founded. Since that period their descendants have founded seven others: Yale College, at Newhaven, in Connecticut; Dartmouth College, at Hanover, in New-Hampshire; Brown College, or University, at Providence, in Rhode-Island; Williams College, at Williamstown, in Massachusetts; Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, in the district of Maine; a college at Middlebury, and another at Burlington, both in Vermont. In these seminaries there are regularly more than eight hundred students. In addition to this, they have established a great number of academies; schools of a superior character, where students are fitted for the colleges, or receive an English education of a higher cast than that which can be obtained at the parochial schools. These things, it is presumed, cannot be said of any country of the same wealth and population.

Their love of liberty will not be questioned. It ought to be observed, that they are the only people on this continent who originally understood, and have ever since maintained, the inseparable connection between liberty and good order, or who practically knew, that genuine freedom is found only beneath the undisturbed dominion of equitable laws.

The morality of these people may be fairly estimated from the following facts. There have been fewer capital crimes committed in New-England since its settlement than in any other country on the globe (Scotland perhaps excepted), in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. Half, or two-

thirds of these inhabitants sleep, at the present time, without barring or locking their doors. Not more than five duels have been fought here since the landing of the Plymouth colony. During the revolutionary war, although party-spirit rose to the highest pitch, and although New-England contained at that time about one million of people, but one man suffered death by the hand of violence, and one more by the decision of a court of justice. During the last fourteen years I have travelled not far from twelve thousand miles, chiefly in New-England and New-York, and in this extensive progress have never seen two men employed in fighting. Nor do I remember more than one instance of this nature, which fell under my own eye, during my life. That many such have happened, I cannot doubt. But had they been frequent, they must, I think, have occurred at times when I was present, for I have not lived in a cloister.

Of the piety of the New-England people their accusers have furnished abundant evidence. Change the words superstition, fanaticism, enthusiasm, and bigotry, into piety (the thing almost invariably meant by them all), and you will find from their enemies themselves ample testimony, that the objects of their calumny were distinguished for this superior kind of excellence. The numerous churches in this country, a great part of them good, and many of them handsome buildings, are a strong illustration of the spirit of the inhabitants concerning the subject of religion. The number of these structures already exceeds fourteen hundred, and is annually increasing. In almost every part of the country, except where the settlements are quite new, they are found at the distance of five, six, and seven miles; and with their handsome spires and cupolas, almost universally white, add an exquisite beauty to the landscape, and perpetually refresh the eye of a traveller.

I have now given you both sides of this subject; and, if I mistake not, without an intention to enhance either. Having the picture before you, with its light and shade, your own taste must determine concerning the beauty and deformity of the features.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XIV.

General View of Connecticut. Its Counties, Towns, Cities, Congregations of different Denominations of Christians. Number of Schools and Scholars.

DEAR SIR;

HAVING given you a general outline of one of the countries through which you will accompany me in my excursions, I will now proceed to mention some particulars concerning the state in which I reside, and whence our tours will regularly commence.

Connecticut lies on Long-Island Sound; with New-York on the west, Massachusetts on the north, and Rhode-Island on the east; between 41° and 42° 2′ north latitude, and between 71° 20′ and 73° 15′ west longitude from Greenwich. Its length on the sound is a little more than one hundred miles. On its northern limit it is about seventy-two. Its breadth on the west about ninety, on the east about forty-five. Its area contains almost five thousand square miles, not far from three millions of acres. Its surface is generally beautiful, and sometimes magnificent. Its climate is somewhat milder than that of the other New-England states; its soil strong and fertile; and its vegetation, of every species, common to such a climate. No part of it can with propriety be called waste; and the lands incapable of convenient cultivation are fewer, and smaller in extent, than necessity seems to demand. In a country where the fuel of the inhabitants is wood; tracts, sufficient to produce it in the proper quantities, defying the hand of culture, and incapable of being profitably employed in pasturage, seem almost indispensable for the purpose of securing this great necessary of life to succeeding generations. In this state, although the inhabitants have begun to be frugal with respect to their wood, it has already become dearer in

several towns than could be wished, and is purchased by the poor at the expense of too great a proportion of their labour.

There are few wild animals in this state; and, as I believe, no beasts of prey besides foxes, and very few birds of that character. Birds of other kinds are numerous, and are increasing in their numbers and species, several new species having visited us within a few years past.

Connecticut is divided into eight counties, and one hundred and nineteen towns *, an enumeration of which may be found in the following list:—

Hartford County contains the following townships:—HARTFORD, Wethersfield, Windsor, Suffield, Glastenbury, East-Hartford, East-Windsor, Enfield, Berlin, Farmington, Bristol, Burlington, Simsbury, Granby, Canton, Hartland, Southington, Marlborough. Total, 18.

Newhaven County:—NEWHAVEN, Milford, Derby, Oxford, Southbury, Middlebury, Woodbridge, Waterbury, Wolcot, Cheshire, Meriden, Wallingford, North-Haven, East-Haven, Branford, Guilford, Hamden. Total, 17.

New-London County:—NEW-LONDON, NORWICH, Bozrah, Colchester, Franklin, Groton, Lyme, Lisbon, Montville, North-Stonington, Preston, Stonington, Waterford. (Two new towns have been made in this county, *viz.* Griswold, Salem). Total, 15.

Fairfield County:—FAIRFIELD, DANBURY, Brookfield, Greenwich, Huntington, New-Canaan, New-Fairfield, Newtown, Norwalk, Reading, Ridgefield, Stamford, Stratford, Sherman, Trumbull, Weston, Wilton, Darien a new town. Total, 18.

Windham County:—WINDHAM, Ashford, Brooklyn, Canterbury, Columbia, Hampton, Killingly, Lebanon, Mansfield, Plainfield, Pomfret, Sterling, Thompson, Voluntown, Woodstock. Total, 15.

Litchfield County:—LITCHFIELD, Barkhamstead, Bethlem, Canaan, Colebrook, Cornwall, Goshen, Harwinton, Kent, New-Hartford, New-Milford, Plymouth, Norfolk, Roxbury, Salisbury, Sharon, Torrington, Washington, Warren, Watertown, Winchester, Woodbury. Total, 22.

* Three new towns have been made since this was written.—*Pub.*

Tolland County:—TOLLAND, Bolton, Coventry, Ellington, Hebron, Somers, Stafford, Union, Vernon, Willington. Total, 10.

Middlesex County:—MIDDLETOWN, Chatham, Durham, Haddam, East-Haddam, Killingworth, Saybrook. Total, 7.

Formerly Connecticut was divided into six counties. The distribution into eight was injudicious, as well as unnecessary. Great counties have a sense of importance and dignity which is eminently useful. It prompts to honourable and beneficial conduct, and prevents much of that which is little, degrading, and of course mischievous. The same things are true, *mutatis mutandis*, of subdivided townships and parishes. Where men are impatient to become judges, sheriffs, and county clerks, to be representatives, select men, or even parish committees, these unfortunate subdivisions will, however, be pushed so earnestly and so long, as in the end to be accomplished. This spirit of subdividing has produced, and is still producing, unhappy consequences in the state of society in New-England. Offices are multiplied to a useless degree, and beyond the ability of the country to fill them with advantage. Yet the fact, that so many of these subdivisions have been made, becomes a powerful reason for making more. He, who voted for the last, claims the suffrage of him, who has been profited by that vote, in his own favour. In this manner a silly and deplorable ambition becomes a source of multiplied mischiefs to the community. Small parishes are unable, without serious inconvenience, to keep their churches in repair, and support their ministers. Small towns are often obliged to send diminutive representatives, because they can send no other. Small counties have often very imperfect courts, because they have no materials out of which to constitute better. Representatives also are in this manner multiplied beyond every rational limit. In most of the New-England states the number is twice, and in Massachusetts at least three times as great as either experience or common sense would justify.

Every parish in Connecticut has its church.

There are five cities in this state under the government of a mayor, aldermen, and common council.

Hartford, New-Haven, New-London, Norwich, Middletown.

Connecticut contains two hundred and sixteen Presbyterian or Congregational (a distinction to be explained hereafter), nine Independent, sixty-one Episcopal, and sixty-seven Baptist congregations. In addition to these, there are a few Methodists scattered over the state. Of this denomination the number of congregations and of settled ministers is small. At the commencement of the present year (1810), thirty-two of the Presbyterian congregations were vacant, or without ministers.

Of the sixty-one Episcopal congregations, thirty-two are styled Pluralities, being attached to the cure of a minister of some other congregation. Of the remaining twenty-nine, nine were vacant at the above-mentioned date.

Of the Baptist congregations, nineteen were vacant at the same period. Few of these give salaries to their preachers, and fewer still employ men of education in this office. The persons who occupy it are therefore, in many instances, farmers and mechanics; not a whit better qualified for the desk, unless by superior volubility, than their hearers, taken at an average*.

The ministers of the Presbyterian and Episcopal congregations are liberally educated, with but few exceptions, and have all established salaries. Most of the Episcopal congregations are small. The Presbyterian congregations contain from one hundred to three hundred and fifty families. A few may fall below the least of these numbers.

There is a school-house sufficiently near to every man's door in this state to allow his children to go conveniently to school throughout most of the year. The number of school-houses cannot be determined. In the parish of Greenfield, containing a little more than fourteen square miles, and fourteen hundred and forty people, in the year 1790, there were eight parish-schools, beside an academy. Greenfield contained then a little less than a one hundred and seventieth part of the people in this state, and a little less than a three hundredth part of the territory. If the number of schools be reckoned according to the least of these proportions, they will amount to almost fourteen hundred. Supposing thirty children to each

* At the present time (1820) there is more attention paid to the education of their ministers by the Baptists, than there was twenty years ago. —*Pub.*

school, the whole will contain upwards of forty thousand scholars. The whole number of persons in this state, under sixteen years of age, was in the year 1800 one hundred and eleven thousand three hundred and eight. Forty thousand, deducted from this number, leaves seventy-one thousand three hundred and eight as the number of such persons unemployed at school. If we take the greatest of these proportions, the whole number of schools will amount to about twenty-six hundred, and the whole number of scholars, at an average of thirty to each school*, to seventy-eight thousand. The truth lies, probably, between these numbers. Children, who live at a distance from school, are usually not sent until after they are four years of age; while those who are near are frequently sent at two, and generally at three. Boys also, after they have arrived to eight, nine, or ten years of age, are in a considerable proportion employed, during the warm season, in the business of the family; and girls often leave the school at twelve, and most commonly at fourteen. On all these accounts a large deduction must be made from the whole number of children, under sixteen years of age, when we are forming an estimate of those who at any given time are sent to school. At the same time a considerable addition must be made for those who continue their education in higher seminaries, after they have arrived at sixteen.

In the city of Newhaven there were, in the year 1801, twenty-one schools, and seven hundred and eighty-seven scholars. Newhaven contains about a sixty-third part of the inhabitants of Connecticut. The proportional number of schools will be thirteen hundred and twenty-three; and that of children in all the schools throughout the state, indicated by this fact, will be forty-nine thousand five hundred eighty-one.

But whatever may be the number of scholars at any given time, there is scarcely a child in this state who is not taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Poverty, here, has no efficacy towards excluding any one from this degree of education.

I am, Sir, &c.

* This average is, I suspect, at least one-fourth too low.

LETTER XV.

Commencement of the Journey to Berwick in 1796, *from New-Haven. Account of New-Haven, its Harbour, Soil, Squares and Streets, Buildings, Churches, Inhabitants, Commerce, and Places of Burial. Character of its Inhabitants. Market, and Prices of Provisions. State of Society. Population.*

DEAR SIR;

HAVING given you a general account of New-England, and another of Connecticut, I will proceed to detail to you such particulars concerning this country as have fallen under my observation, or been communicated to me by others, and as I shall judge deserving the attention of an inquisitive man. One of the divisions of the human race into classes, often and irresistibly made by an investigating mind, may be denominated by the terms curious and incurious. Persons of the latter class demand general representations of every subject to which they turn their attention. When they think or read, converse or write, you will find them settling upon nothing but the heads of a discourse, or the outlines of a picture. When they reason, they busy themselves only with general principles; when they narrate, with a few scattered, prominent facts. Their descriptions resemble the last impressions of a copperplate, when the lines are so worn out as to be scarcely distinguishable; or a painting, seen at the opposite end of a long gallery; or a landscape, presented to the eye in a misty morning. Particular objects, either of the understanding or the imagination, they never examine, unless when compelled, and escape from them as a prisoner escapes from confinement. In this conduct they are not governed by a disposition to gain large and com-

prehensive views of the objects with which they are conversant, but by impatience of mental labour. Many of them are willing to be esteemed men of understanding and men of taste; but are indisposed to make those exertions, without which neither character can be fairly acquired. This indolence they not only excuse, but flatter, by despising, regularly, whatever they do not choose to take the trouble of examining, and thus assume the credit of that superior discernment which knows beforehand, that the objects, proposed to it for investigation, are undeserving of its regard. By persons of this character, whatever may be the original vigour of their minds, few things are ever known to any valuable purpose.

Persons of the former class have the curiosity which prompts them to inquire, and the patience which enables them to pursue. They early learn that general views, although useful for arranging and teaching the objects of science, are of little use to an inquirer, except in their application, in which they of course become particular; that in themselves they are, to a great extent, undefined; sit loosely on the mind; leave faint impressions on the imagination, the memory, and the heart, and are incapable of any practical use in the serious concerns of men. To stop at such views, therefore, is to them a violation of every mental propensity—a disappointment of every expectation. Eager in the pursuit of knowledge, both from the pleasure and the profit which it affords, they follow in detail, so far as their leisure permits, every object which they consider as meriting their inquisition.

It is my intention to give you a view of my proposed subject, at once comprehensive and minute. Every page, of one merely general, would to me be a cup of Tantalus, exciting my wishes and mocking them with disappointment. I am warranted to suppose your character, in this respect, similar to my own, and to believe, that you aim at thorough information concerning a subject, of which you have expressed so strong an inclination to be informed. Should the fact be otherwise, you are already premonished to lay these papers aside.

In the year 1796, Wednesday, September 21st, I set out on a journey to Portland, the principal town in the district of Maine, in company with Mr. R., a merchant in New-York.

As New-Haven is the point whence all the following excursions will commence, it will be proper to begin my observations with an account of that city.

New-Haven lies at the head of a harbour, which sets up four miles into the country, in north latitude 41° 18′, and in west longitude 72° 56′, seventy-six miles from New-York, thirty-four from Hartford, and one hundred and thirty-four from Boston. It is the capital of a county of the same name, and the semi-capital of Connecticut. The site of New-Haven is a plain lying between two ranges of hills on the east and west; and limited, partly, on the northern side by two mountains, called the East and West Rock, heretofore mentioned, a spur from the latter, named Pine Rock, and another from the former, named Mill Rock, which descends in the form of a handsome hill to the northern skirt of the city. Between these mountains, this plain opens into a valley, which extends northward seventy-six miles to Northampton; and, between the East Rock and the eastern range of hills, into another valley terminating at Wethersfield, thirty-two miles. Both these vallies coincide, at the places specified, with the vallies of Connecticut river. The former I shall call *the valley of Farmington*, the latter *the valley of Berlin*. These mountains are bold bluffs of whinstone, with summits finely figured, and form a delightful part of the New-Haven landscape.

The harbour of New-Haven is created by the confluence of three rivers with the Sound. Wallingford river on the east, Mill river on the north, and West river. The two last are merely mill-streams; Mill river a very fine one, as being plentifully supplied with water round the year. Wallingford river, originally called Quinipiac, rises in Farmington, and, after running a winding course of thirty-five miles, empties its waters into the Sound. These streams are also ornaments of the landscape.

The harbour of New-Haven, from the entrance of Wallingford and Mill rivers, has in the channel fifteen feet of water to its mouth, except on Crane's bar, a small spit of sand, formed by the erection of a pier about three-fourths of a mile from the shore. Here the depth is only seven and a half feet; but the obstruction might be removed with no great difficulty. At

the time when the first settlers arrived in this town, there was, in the north-western region of this harbour, a sufficient depth of water for all the ordinary purposes of commerce. Ships were built and launched, loaded and unloaded, where now there are meadows and gardens. So late as the year 1765, the long wharf extended only twenty rods from the shore. It extends now thirty-nine hundred and forty-three feet. Yet there is less water a few rods from its foot, now, than at its termination in the year 1765. The substance, which here so rapidly accumulates, is what, in this country, is called marsh-mud, the materials of which its salt marshes are composed. It has been suspected to be of a vegetable nature. At Fairfield, where the experiment has been tried, it has been found to be peat, and yields a tolerably good fire. To convert it into gardens and fresh meadows, it is necessary to cover it with a thick layer of earth.

The plain, on which New-Haven is built, is not improbably a congeries of particles, floated down to this place in early times from the interior. Its surface is sand mixed with loam and gravel. Beneath this is usually found a stratum of yellow loam. Still lower, at the depth of fifteen or eighteen inches, a mass of coarse sand extends about six feet. Beneath this is another, composed principally of pebbles, rounded and smoothed like stones, washed by the ocean. Still further down, the materials, generally like those which have been mentioned, are more mingled and confused. I speak here of the most elevated parts of this plain. Formerly the surface was covered with shrub-oaks, and wild turkeys and partridges were found in great numbers.

The soil of this plain is dry, warm, and naturally unproductive; but by cultivation is capable of producing every vegetable suited to the climate, and in any quantity. By culture, far from being perfect, it has yielded eighty bushels of maize, forty bushels of wheat, and four tons of clover, an acre. For gardens, except in dry years, it is remarkably well fitted.

The original town was laid out on the north-western side of the harbour in nine squares, each fifty-two rods on a side, separated by streets four rods in breadth, and thus formed a quadrangular area of one hundred and seventy-two rods on a

side. The central square is open, is styled the Green, and is the handsomest ground of this nature which I have seen. The upper, or north-western half, is a beautiful slope, the lower a handsome level. The surrounding squares are by a bye-law divided, each into four. Most of the streets, forming this division, are opened and built upon, and run from north-west to south-east, and from north-east to south-west, the directions of the original streets.

Beside these thirty-two squares, the town covers several considerable tracts, bordering upon them. The principal of these is on the south-eastern side, and is called the New Township; a beautiful tract, bounded by the east river and the harbour. Houses in considerable numbers are also built everywhere in its environs. The whole number in the spring of 1808, as I numbered them, was seven hundred and ~~twenty~~*. Of these, three hundred and fourteen were built on the streets forming the squares.

The area, occupied by New-Haven, is probably as large as that which usually contains a city of six times the number of inhabitants, in Europe. A considerable proportion of the houses have court-yards in front and gardens in the rear. The former are ornamented with trees and shrubs, the latter are luxuriantly filled with fruit trees, flowers, and culinary vegetables. The beauty and healthfulness of this arrangement need no explanation.

The houses in this city are generally decent, and many of the modern ones handsome. The style of building is neat and tidy. Fences and out-houses are also in the same style; and, being almost universally painted white, make a delightful appearance to the eye; an appearance not a little enhanced by the great multitude of shade-trees, a species of ornament in which this town is unrivalled. Most of the buildings are of wood, and may be considered as destined to become the fuel of a future conflagration. Building with brick and stone is, however, becoming more and more frequent. The mode of building with stone, which seems not unlikely to become general, is to raise walls of whinstone, broken into fragments of

* There are now (1815) about 800.

every irregular form, laid in strong mortar, and then to overcast them with a peculiar species of cement.

The corners, frames of the doors, arches, and sills of the windows, cornices, and other ornamental parts, are of a sprightly coloured free-stone. The cement is sometimes divided by lines at right angles, in such a manner as to make the whole resemble a building of marble, and, being smooth and white, is of course very handsome. Several valuable houses have been lately built in this manner; and the cement, contrary to the general expectation, has hitherto perfectly sustained the severity of our seasons. This mode of building is very little more expensive than building with wood, and will, I suspect, ultimately take the place of every other. I know of no other equally handsome, where marble itself is not the material. Both these kinds of stone are found, inexhaustibly, at a moderate distance*.

The public buildings in New-Haven are the state-house, county-house, and gaol; an alms-house, three Presbyterian, one Episcopal, and one Methodist, churches; the collegiate buildings, school-houses, and bridges. The state-house is a plain and barely decent edifice, in which the legislature holds one of its semi-annual sessions. The lower story of this building contains the office of the secretary of state, a jury-room, lobbies, &c., and a convenient hall for the judicial courts. The second story contains the council-chamber and the chamber of the house of representatives. The churches are of considerable standing, and are barely decent structures†. The

* In October, 1815, the legislature passed a law, forbidding the erection of wooden buildings in the populous parts of the city, after January 1st, 1817.

† All the congregations in New-Haven voted, in 1812, that they would take down their churches and build new ones. Accordingly two of them commenced the work in 1813, the other in 1814. The church of the first congregation was finished in 1814. The other two have been completed the present year. They are all placed on the western side of Temple Street, in a situation singularly beautiful, having an elegant square in front, and stand on a street one hundred feet wide. The Presbyterian churches are of Grecian architecture. The Episcopal church is a Gothic building, the only correct specimen, it is believed, in the United States. Few structures, devoted to the same purpose on this side of the Atlantic, are equally hand-

county-house is a good building. The gaol is a strong and decent stone edifice.

A bridge, named the harbour bridge, is thrown over the mouth of Wallingford river, between this town and East-Haven. Three fourths of this structure are formed of two stone piers, extending from the shores to the channel. The remainder is built on trestles of wood, often styled in this country piers of wood. It is half a mile in length; is the property of an incorporated company, and cost sixty thousand dollars. This is a useful erection, as it forms a part of the great road from New-Haven through New-London and Providence to Boston, and as it will facilitate several important objects of navigation and commerce. A wharf is already erected from it on the western side of the channel, at which large vessels are moored and repaired, and at which they load and unload with perfect convenience.

The alms-house is a plain building of considerable size, standing in a very healthful situation on the western side of the town. The mode in which it is conducted is, probably, not often excelled.

There are two Presbyterian congregations in this town, and one Episcopal. Two of these are nearly equal in their numbers, and contain each between two and three hundred families. The third contains probably more. This was formerly divided, and has since been wisely and happily re-united. There is, also, a small society of Methodists, who by the aid of their charitable fellow-citizens have been enabled to build a church for their worship.

New-Haven, in the legal sense, is both a city and a township. The city includes the eastern part of the township. The western, which is a much larger tract, is bounded by the township of Woodbridge on the north, by that of Milford on the west, and by the Sound on the south. This tract contains the parish of West-Haven, and a collection of families, living chiefly on scattered plantations, about equally numerous. The number of inhabitants in both is probably not less than twelve hundred. The last mentioned division of these people belong

some, and in no place can the same number of churches be found, within the same distance, so beautiful, and standing in so advantageous a position.

to the congregations in the city. This part of the township lies chiefly on the hills which have been heretofore mentioned as the southern termination of the Green Mountains.

The inhabitants of this tract are principally farmers. A general view of the state of society in the city is given in the following list, taken in the year 1811:—

At this period there were in New-Haven twenty-nine houses concerned in foreign commerce, forty-one stores of dry goods, forty-two grocery stores, four ship chandlery ditto, two wholesale hardware ditto, three wholesale dry goods ditto, one wholesale glass and china ditto, one furrier's ditto, ten apothecaries ditto, six traders in lumber, one in paper hangings, six shoe stores, seven manufactories of hats, five hat stores, four book stores, three rope walks, two sail lofts, one ship-yard, seventeen butchers, sixteen schools, twelve inns, five tallow-chandlers, two brass-founders, three braziers, twenty-nine blacksmiths, one bell-founder, nine tanners, thirty shoe and boot makers, nine carriage makers, seven goldsmiths, four watchmakers, four harness-makers, five cabinet-makers, fifty carpenters and joiners, three comb-makers, four Windsor-chair-makers, fifteen masons, twenty-six tailors, fourteen coopers, three stone-cutters, seven curriers, two block-makers, five [illegible]ers, three tinners, one wheelwright, one leather-dresser, one nailer, two paper-makers, five printing-offices, two bookbinders, five bakers, and two newspapers published. There were also six clergymen, sixteen lawyers, nine practising physicians, and one surgeon.

One of the clergymen is attached to the college. One was the bishop of the Episcopal church of Connecticut. One, far advanced in life, was without a cure.

Most of the lawyers in the county reside in New-Haven. The physicians, also, practise extensively in the surrounding country.

I have given you this list, partly because it is, on this side of the Atlantic, the only specimen of the same nature within my knowledge, and partly because it exhibits more perfectly, in one point of view, the state of society in an American town, than it would be possible to derive from any other source*.

* The following list of manufactures in the city of New-Haven, as taken

The commerce of New-Haven is divided into the coasting, foreign, and inland trade. The coasting business is carried on with all the Atlantic States from St. Mary's to Machias. With New-York an intercourse is kept up by a succession of daily packets. The foreign trade is principally carried on with the West-Indian Islands, and occasionally with South-America, most of the countries of Europe, the Madeira Islands, Batavia, and Canton. Several of our ships have circumnavigated the globe. The inhabitants of this town began the business of carrying seal skins from Massafuero; and, I believe, of carrying sandal wood from the Sandwich Islands to Canton. The ship Neptune, in the year 1796, fitted out for a sealing voyage at the expense of forty-eight thousand dollars, returned from Canton with a cargo worth two hundred and forty thousand. A considerable part, not far from one-half, of the cargoes imported by the New-Haven merchants are sold in New-York. A great part also of the produce purchased in New-Haven is sold in the same market. This renders it impossible to give an exact account of its commerce.

The inland trade consists of an extensive exchange of European, East-Indian, and West-Indian goods, for cash and produce, with the inhabitants of the interior. The following statement, derived from the reports of the secretary of the treasury, will give you the best view of the foreign trade of New-Haven which can be obtained.

under the authority of the marshal of the district, was presented to me by the agent employed.

	Dollars.
Cloth . . . . . Value,	18,050
Cordage	36,000
Hats	44,400
Leather	42,365
Saddles and harness for exportation	5,000
Brass work	2,500
Candles	20,000
Shoes for exportation	6,000
Combs	6,000
Marble	7,500
Straw bonnets	1,000
Total	188,815

Years.	Duties on Imports.	Amount of imports.	Tonnage.
1801	172,888 95	950,396	597 79
1802	110,007 86	439,216	719 33
1803	136,429 42	545,600	657 35
1804	213,196 57	581,952	857 75
1805	205,323 31	821,264	867 24
1806	146,548 36	586,456	595 77
1807	157,590 96	630,356	720 88
1808	106,358 19	425,424	578 97
1809	55,335 19	224,352	623 54
1810	94,617 92	378,400	650 72

Years.	Exports.	Domestic.	Foreign.
1801	650,471	509,173	141,298
1802	483,910	347,264	136,646
1803	416,773	411,621	5,152
1804	476,421	448,495	27,926
1805	608,420	490,657	117,763
1806	483,477	471,202	112,275
1807	505,844	489,362	16,482
1808	Embargo.		
1809	309,862	306,650	3,212
1810	390,335	387,210	3,125

Tonnage registered and enrolled in	1801	7,252 88
	1810	6,177 12

About one-third of the imports belonging to the merchants of New-Haven are landed in New-York, and are not included in the above estimate.

The trade of this town *, is conducted with skill as well as spirit. Of this the fact, that during the last fifteen years the number of failures has been proportionally smaller than in almost any town in the Union, is unequivocal proof. At the same time it is conducted in a manner fair and honourable.

* In October, 1811, a second bank was established in New-Haven, under the name of the Eagle Bank, with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars, to be increased, on application to the legislature, to seven hundred and fifty thousand. In 1814 a fire insurance company was formed in this town, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars.

A trick in trade is rarely heard of; and when mentioned, awakens alike surprise and indignation.

There is a bank, named the New-Haven Bank, established in this town, whose capital is three hundred thousand dollars*. There is also an incorporated insurance company, with a capital of fifty thousand dollars. Both these institutions have been prosperous. The bank was incorporated in the year 1792, and the insurance company in the year 1797.

It deserves to be mentioned here, that the vessels built for the merchants of this town, and intended for foreign commerce, are built with more strength, and furnished in a better manner than in most places on this continent. Those who command them are generally distinguished by their enterprise, skill, and probity, and are entrusted with the sale and purchase of their cargoes, as well as with the conduct of their vessels, and thus frequently become possessed of handsome property. Several of them also are distinguished by their good manners, good sense, and extensive information. From these facts united it has arisen, that very few vessels from this port meet with those accidents which are fatal to others. Indubitable proofs of the enterprise of the inhabitants are seen in the institutions already mentioned, in the formation of turnpike roads, the erection of the bridge described above, and the improvements lately made in the town itself. Of these, levelling and enclosing the green, accomplished by subscription, at an expense of more than two thousand dollars, and the establishment of a new public cemetery, accomplished at a much greater expense, are particularly creditable to their spirit.

The original settlers of New-Haven, following the custom of their native country, buried their dead in a churchyard. Their church was erected on the green, or public square, and the yard laid out immediately behind it in the north-western half of the square. While the Romish apprehension concerning consecrated burial-places, and concerning peculiar advantages, supposed at the resurrection to attend those who are interred in them, remained, this location of burial-grounds seems to have been not unnatural. But since this apprehension has been perceived by common sense to be groundless and ridiculous, the impropriety of such a location forces itself upon

* 1810.

every mind. It is always desirable that a burial-ground should be a solemn object to man, because in this manner it easily becomes a source of useful instruction and desirable impressions; but when placed in the centre of a town, and in the current of daily intercourse, it is rendered too familiar to the eye to have any beneficial effect on the heart. From its proper venerable character, it is degraded into a mere common object, and speedily loses all its connection with the invisible world, in a gross and vulgar union with the ordinary business of life.

Beside these disadvantages, this ground was filled with coffins and monuments, and must either be extended farther over the beautiful tract, unhappily chosen for it, or must have its place supplied by a substitute. To accomplish these purposes, and to effectuate a removal of the numerous monuments of the dead, already erected, whenever the consent of their survivors could be obtained, the Honourable James Hillhouse, one of the inhabitants, to whom the town, the state, and the country, owe more than to almost any of their citizens, in the year 1796, purchased, near the north-western corner of the town, a field of ten acres, which, aided by several respectable gentlemen, he levelled and enclosed. The field was then divided into parallelograms, handsomely railed, and separated by alleys of sufficient breadth to permit carriages to pass each other. The whole field, except four lots given to the several congregations and the college, and a lot destined for the reception of the poor, was distributed into family burying-places purchased at the expense actually incurred, and secured by law from every civil process. Each parallelogram is sixty-four feet in breadth, and thirty-five feet in length. Each family burying-ground is thirty-two feet in length, and eighteen in breadth; and against each an opening is made to admit a funeral procession. At the divisions between the lots trees are set out in the alleys, and the name of each proprietor is marked on the railing. The monuments in this ground are almost universally of marble, in a few instances from Italy; in the rest, found in this and the neighbouring states. A considerable number are obelisks, others are tables, and others slabs, placed at the head and foot of the grave. The obelisks are placed universally on the middle line of the lots, and thus stand in a line successively through the parallelograms. The top of each post, and the railing, are painted white; the remainder of the

post black. After the lots were laid out, they were all thrown into a common stock. A meeting was then summoned of such inhabitants as wished to become proprietors. Such as attended drew for their lots, and located them at their pleasure. Others in great numbers have since purchased them, so that a great part of the field is now taken up.

It is believed, that this cemetery is altogether a singularity in the world. I have accompanied many Americans and many foreigners into it, not one of whom had ever seen or heard of any thing of a similar nature. It is incomparably more solemn and impressive than any spot of the same kind within my knowledge; and, if I am to credit the declarations of others, within theirs. An exquisite taste for propriety is discovered in every thing belonging to it, exhibiting a regard for the dead, reverential but not ostentatious, and happily fitted to influence the views and feelings of succeeding generations.

At the same time it precludes the use of vaults, by taking away every inducement to build them. These melancholy, and I think I may say disgusting mansions, seem not to have been dictated by nature, and are certainly not approved by good sense. Their salubrity is questionable, and the impression left by them on the mind transcends the bounds of mourning and sorrow, and borders at least upon loathing. That families should wish to be buried together seems to be natural, and the propensity is here gratified. At the same time a preparation is in this instance happily made for removing, finally, the monuments in the ancient burying-ground, and thus freeing one of the most beautiful squares in the world from so improper an appendage*.

To this account I ought to add, that the proprietors, when the lots were originally distributed, gave one to each of the then existing clergymen of the city. Upon the whole, it may, I think, be believed, that the completion of this cemetery will extensively diffuse a new sense of propriety in disposing of the remains of the deceased†.

* These monuments were removed in July, 1821.—*Pub.*

† In April, 1815, this cemetery was enlarged by the addition of a considerable piece of land lying on its western border, and is now of sufficient extent to furnish family burying-grounds on the original scale for a long period

The long wharf is also a respectable proof of enterprise. Three-fourths of this pier are built of timber and earth, and the other fourth of stone, by an incorporated company, aided in a small degree by lotteries. It is three thousand nine hundred and forty-three feet in length, longer than any other in the United States by more than two thousand feet. On the western side lots for the erection of stores are laid out, and purchased throughout a great part of the extent. On many of them stores are erected.

The inhabitants of New-Haven deserve credit for their industry and economy. Almost every man is active in his business, and lives at a prudent distance within his income. Almost all, therefore (with one considerable exception), are in ordinary circumstances thriving.

The exception, to which I have alluded, is that of the labourers. By this term I intend that class of men, who look to the earnings of to-day for the subsistence of to-morrow. In New-England almost every man of this character is either shiftless, diseased, or vicious. Employment is found everywhere, and subsistence is abundant, and easily obtained. The price of labour is also very high, a moderate day's work being usually purchased at a dollar.* Every healthy, industrious, prudent man may, therefore, live almost as he wishes, and secure a competence for old age. The local and commercial circumstances of this town have allured to it a large (proportional) number of these men, few of whom are very industrious, fewer economical, and fewer still virtuous.

The mechanics are in all respects of a different character, and are therefore generally prosperous.

The market in this town is moderately good. The supplies of flesh and fish are ample, and of vegetables, sufficient for the demand of the inhabitants, most of whom are furnished from their own gardens. Of fruit, neither the variety nor the quantity is such as could be wished, and might be easily obtained. Indeed this article is fast improving in both respects, and almost every garden yields its proprietor a considerable quantity of very fine fruit, particularly of cherries, pears, and peaches, as well as of currants, gooseberries, strawberries, and rasp-

*1810.

berries. The greatest evil which the inhabitants suffer is the want of a regular system. A few years since a new market was established in a convenient part of the town, and placed under proper regulations. The consequence was, that all the customary supplies were furnished abundantly, and of the best quality. Unfortunately, however, several respectable citizens opposed the establishment so strenuously and perseveringly, as finally to destroy most of its good effects. There is something very remarkable in the hostility of the New-England people to a regular market. Those who buy, and those who sell, manifest this opposition alike; nor has the imperfection and precariousness of the supplies brought in carts to their doors, reconciled the former class, nor the superior convenience and certainty of selling at the highest price, persuaded the latter to the adoption of a system so obviously advantageous in all respects to both. A striking example is here presented of the power of habitual prejudice. As the fact is, however, an epicure may find all his wishes satisfied, without much difficulty, in this town.

The market prices of beef round the year are, for the best pieces, by the pound, from seven to ten cents; for the poorer pieces, from three to six cents; of beef, by the hundred pounds, from four and a half to eight dollars; of pork ditto, from four and a half to eight ditto; of good veal, mutton, and lamb, by the pound, from five to seven cents; of chickens, ducks, and turkies ditto, from seven to eleven cents; of geese ditto, from six to eight cents; of sea bass, striped bass, and blackfish ditto, from four to six cents; of lobsters ditto, from five to six cents; of oysters by the bushel, from fifty cents to one dollar; of long and round clams, and escallops ditto, from seventy-five cents to one dollar; of flour, made of wheat, by the barrel, from six to nine dollars*; of rye, by the bushel, from seventy-five cents to one dollar; of Indian corn, or maize, ditto, from seventy-five cents to one dollar; of oats ditto, from twenty-five to thirty-seven and a half cents; of apples ditto, from thirty-three cents to one dollar; of cider, by the barrel, from one and a half to three dollars.

These prices I have set down to give a succinct view of the

* Many articles mentioned in this list are now (1820) much lower.—*Pub.*

expense at which the means of living are furnished here. The article of fuel, which is universally wood, is in this town, and a few others, particularly dear; hickory being from seven to eight dollars the cord, of one hundred and twenty-eight feet; oak five, and pine three. In the interior, even in old and thrifty settlements, the price is often not more than a third part of what I have specified. It ought to be observed, that every marketable article bears here an advanced price, on account of the easy and regular communication with New-York. Nor ought it to be omitted, that, antecedently to the year 1793, all these articles were at an average sold for half the sums mentioned above*.

The state of society in this town is, I think, remarkably happy. The inhabitants, taken together, are not inferior to those of any town with which I am acquainted, in intelligence, refinement, morals, or religion. Both sexes are, to a great extent, well informed, much less ceremonious, and perhaps somewhat less polished, but not less refined than those of the larger cities in this country. Their morals at the same time are of a superior cast, and their religion much more predominant. A general spirit of good neighbourhood prevails among all classes, which nothing hitherto has seriously interrupted. An extensive revival of religion, within a few years past, has added not a little to the pleasures furnished by society in New-Haven. The churches are regularly full, and an interest is apparently felt in the concerns of religion, which cannot fail of being grateful to the mind of a good man. Rarely is a more beautiful object presented to the eye (I have never met with one) than the multitudes crossing the green in different directions to the house of God. A general softness and civility of manners also prevails among the inhabitants of every class. Their hospitality is honourable to them, and is not excelled in New-England, unless in some of the towns along the eastern shore of Massachusetts.

Few places in the world present a fairer example of peace and good order. Disturbances are unknown. Even private contentions scarcely exist. I recollect but a single instance in which a store, and not one in which a house has been

* The prices mentioned in the text were stated in the year 1810. Since that period up to 1815 they have varied much, but have chiefly increased.

broken open during the fifteen years, in which I have resided in this town*. This good order of the inhabitants is the more creditable to them, as the police of the town is far from being either vigorous or exact.

The city of New-Haven was incorporated in the year 1784; and is under the government of a mayor, aldermen, and a common council. The city court is formed by the mayor and two aldermen, and has jurisdiction in all civil causes cognisable by the court of common pleas (except such as concern real estate), originated within the bounds of the city; one of the parties being a resident in the city. Appeals lie from its decisions to the circuit court, as from the court of common pleas. Trials are by jury, when either of the parties chooses it. It has no criminal jurisdiction, except when offences are committed against the city laws.

In every prudential concern of the township, whether existing within or without the city, the control lies in the hands of the selectmen. The nature of their office will be explained hereafter.

The views in and around this town are delightful. Scenery does not often strike the eye with more pleasure. A great number of charming rides, in its environs, add not a little to the pleasure of a residence in New-Haven. Take it for all in all, I have never seen the place where I would so willingly spend my life.

Its position at the foot of the hills, and at the head of a harbour four miles from the Sound, forces a great part of the travelling, both for pleasure and business, to pass through it. The great road from Georgia to Maine enters it from New-York, and here parts to New-London and to Hartford. The mass of travellers, therefore, pass through it of course. Six turnpike roads commence here; one through Berlin, and by a branch through Middletown also to Hartford, and thence in four different ways to Boston, &c.; another to Farmington, and thence through Lenox, in Massachusetts, to Albany; a third through Litchfield to Albany, and thence to Niagara; and by branches to Hudson and Catskill, and thence to the Susquehannah river, &c.; by another branch up Naugatuc river

* Two or three have occurred since this was written.

through Waterbury and Norfolk to Stockbridge and Albany; the fourth through Humphreysville to Southbury, and thence to Cornwall; the fifth through Derby to New-Milford; the sixth to Stratford ferry, and thence to New-York*.

In 1756 the township of New-Haven contained five thousand and eighty-five inhabitants; in 1774, eight thousand two hundred and ninety-five. It then included the townships of Woodbridge, Hamden, North-Haven, and East-Haven. Within the same limits there were in 1800, ten thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight. The present township of New-Haven contained at that time five thousand one hundred and fifty-seven, of which four thousand and forty-nine were included in the city. In 1810 the number within the city was five thousand seven hundred and seventy-two; and in the township † six thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven; and in the original township, thirteen thousand one hundred and sixty-one.

I am, Sir, &c.

* In 1814, a turnpike road was finished between New-Haven and Middletown.

† The population of New-Haven, in 1820, was eight thousand three hundred and twenty-six.—*Pub.*

LETTER XVI.

History of the Establishment and Progress of Yale College.

DEAR SIR;

A MAN of learning and benevolence cannot fail of finding a particular interest in authentic accounts of the state of learning in any country which becomes an object of his inquiries. Particularly ought I to suppose an Englishman, liberally educated himself, to feel a strong interest in the state of literature, which exists among a people so nearly allied to him by birth, religion, laws, manners, and interests, as those of New-England. You will therefore naturally expect from me, while describing New-Haven, a minute account of Yale college; both because it is one of the oldest and most respectable seminaries in this country, and because, from the office which I hold in it, you may fairly regard the story as claiming your confidence. At the same time you will remember, that the plan of education pursued throughout New-England is in substance the same. This recital therefore will serve, with a moderate number of exceptions, not very material, as a picture of all the New-England colleges. The exceptions, so far as their importance will justify it, I propose to mention hereafter.

Yale college is commonly said to have been founded in the year 1700. Ten of the principal ministers, nominated by a general consent, both of the clergy and the inhabitants of Connecticut, to wit:—The Rev. James Noyes, of Stonington; Israel Chauncey, of Stratford; Thomas Buckingham, of Saybrook; Abraham Pierson, of Killingworth; Samuel Mather, of Windsor; Samuel Andrew, of Milford; Timothy Woodbridge, of Hartford; James Pierpont, of New-Haven; Noadiah Russell, of Middletown; and Joseph Webb, of Fairfield, met at New-Haven, and formed themselves into a society, which

they determined should consist of eleven ministers, including a rector, and agreed to found a college in the colony. At their next meeting, which was at Branford the same year, each of them brought a number of books, and presenting them to the society, said, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." Antecedently to this event the subject had been seriously canvassed by the clergy, particularly Messrs. Pierpont, Andrew, and Russell, of Branford, and by the people at large, during the two preceding years, and had come thus far towards maturity.

The first house in the colony of Connecticut was erected in the year 1635, and the first in the colony of New-Haven in 1637. The first house in Salem was built in 1626. The act of the legislature, which gave birth to Harvard college, was passed in 1636. Only ten years therefore elapsed after the beginning of a settlement in Massachusetts, before a college was commenced in earnest; whereas sixty-five years passed away after the colonization of Connecticut was begun, and sixty-three after that of New-Haven, before any serious attempt was made toward the founding of Yale college. But you are not hence to conclude, that the colonists of Connecticut and New-Haven were at all less friendly to learning than those of Massachusetts. The project of establishing a college in each of these colonies was very early taken up, but was checked by well-founded remonstrances from the people of Massachusetts; who very justly observed, that the whole population of New-England was scarcely sufficient to support one institution of this nature, and that the establishment of a second would, in the end, be a sacrifice of both. These objections put a stop to the design for a considerable time.

Of the serious design of the New-Haven colonists to establish a college, the following document, copied from the records of Guilford, furnishes decisive evidence.

"At a general court held at Guilford, June 28th, A. D. 1652,

"Voted, the matter about a college at New-Haven was thought to be too great a charge for us, of this jurisdiction, to undergo alone, especially considering the unsettled state of New-Haven town, being publicly declared, from the deliberate judgment of the most understanding men, to be a place of no

comfortable subsistence for the present inhabitants there. But if Connecticut do join, the planters are generally willing to bear their just proportions for the erecting and maintaining of a college there. However, they desire thanks to Mr. Goodyear, for his kind proffer to the setting forward of such a work."

Whether the foundation mentioned above would be considered as such, in the legal sense, may be doubted; that it was the beginning of this seminary is certain, and from this period the inhabitants of every description, particularly men of education and influence, embarked in the design with zeal.

In October, 1701, the legislature granted these gentlemen a charter, constituting them "Trustees of a collegiate school in his majesty's colony of Connecticut," and invested them with all the powers which were supposed to be necessary for the complete execution of their trust.

The following November, they chose one of their number, Mr. Pierson, rector of the school, and determined that it should be fixed for the present at Saybrook.

In the year 1702, the first commencement was held at Saybrook, at which five young gentlemen received the degree of A. M.

From this time many debates arose concerning the place where the school should be finally established, and continued to agitate the community until the year 1718. In 1716, a majority of the trustees voted, on the 17th of October, to remove the school to New-Haven. Four of their number out of nine were, however, strongly against it, and the community was equally disunited. The trustees nevertheless proceeded to hold the commencement the following year at New-Haven, and to order a college to be erected. It was accordingly raised in October 1717, and finished the following year. This building they were enabled to complete by a considerable number of donations, which they had received for the purpose, both within and without the colony. Their principal benefactor, both during this period and all which have succeeded, was the legislature.

Among the individuals, who distinguished themselves by their beneficence to this infant institution, was the Hon. Elihu Yale of London, governor of the East India Company. This

gentleman was descended of an ancient and respectable family in Wales, which for many generations possessed the manor of Plas Grannow, near Wrexham. His father, Thomas Yale, Esq., came from England with the first colonists of New-Haven. In this town his son Elihu was born, April 5th, 1648. He went to England at ten years of age, and to Hindostan at thirty. In that country he resided about twenty years, and was made governor of Madras. Having acquired a large fortune, he returned to London; was chosen governor of the East India Company, and died at Wrexham July 8th, 1721.

This gentleman sent, in several donations, to the collegiate school five hundred pounds sterling, between 1714 and 1718, and a little before his death ordered goods to be sent out to the value of five hundred pounds more; but they were never received.

In gratitude to this benefactor, the trustees by a solemn act named their seminary Yale college; a name, which it is believed, will convey the memory of his beneficence to distant generations.

The college, which was erected at this time, was built of wood, one hundred and seventy feet in length, twenty-two in breadth, and of three stories, and was, for that period, a handsome building. Before it was erected, the students were scattered in various places, at Milford, Killingworth, Guilford, Saybrook, Wethersfield, &c. Soon after they all removed to New-Haven. From this time the institution began to flourish. The number of students was about forty, and the course of education was pursued with system and spirit. The benefactions also, which it received, were increased in number and value.

In the list of its benefactors was the Rev. Dr. Berkely, dean of Derry, in Ireland, and afterwards bishop of Cloyne. This gentleman, whose name is immortalized by high intellectual and moral excellence, came to America in the year 1732, for the purpose of establishing a college in the island of Bermuda; a purpose to which he nobly sacrificed considerable time, property, and labour. It failed, however, because twenty thousand pounds sterling, promised him by the minister, was never paid. While he was in America, he resided at Newport, in the neighbourhood of which he purchased a farm.

Having become acquainted with the circumstances of Yale college, and with some of the gentlemen who were concerned in the management of its affairs, he was so well pleased both with them and the institution, that he made a present of his farm to the college, and after his return to Europe sent to the library the "finest collection of books that ever came together at one time into America*."

Many other gentlemen, before and after this period, presented books and other donations. Among these Jeremiah Dummer, Esq., of Boston, deserves particularly to be mentioned as a distinguished benefactor, as does also the Hon. James Fitch, of Norwich.

Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Steele, Doctors Burnet, Woodward, Halley, Bently, Kennet, Calamy, Edwards, the Rev. Mr. Henry and Mr. Whiston, presented their own works to the library.

In 1745, a new charter, drawn by the Hon. Thomas Fitch, of Norwalk, afterwards governor, was given to the trustees, in which they were named "the President and Fellows of Yale College." This is the present charter of the institution. The provisions, contained in it, enlarged the privileges of the institution, and extended not a little the scale of its operations. A long course of experience has proved, that they were wise, and sufficiently minute and comprehensive to answer all the purposes within the reach of the institution.

In the year 1750, another college was built of brick, one hundred feet long, forty wide, and of three stories, containing thirty-two chambers, and sixty-four studies. The expense of the exterior was 5,250 dollars, and of the whole 7,377 dollars, and was principally furnished by the legislature. It was named Connecticut Hall.

In September, 1755, the Rev. Napthali Daggett, minister of Smithtown on Long-Island, was chosen the first professor of divinity, and was installed the following March. President Clapp gave a lot, which cost 231 dollars, to the professorship, on which the corporation erected a house for the professor, at the expense of 1,266 dollars.

* President Clapp's History, Yale college, A. D. 1766.

In April, 1761, a chapel was begun, and opened in June 1763. The Hon. Richard Jackson, M. P., agent for the colony of Connecticut, in England, gave towards finishing it one hundred pounds sterling.

In the year 1792, the legislature gave to the institution the arrearages of certain taxes, which had for some time been due to the state in its paper currency, on the condition, that the governor, lieutenant-governor, and six senior councillors, for the time being, should by a vote of the corporation, as well as the authority of the state, be received as members of their board; the clerical side of the board, however, retaining the power of filling up their own vacancies. The proposal was unanimously accepted by the corporation, and the following September these gentlemen took their seats. From that time to the present the trustees have consisted of the governor, lieutenant-governor, and six senior councillors, the president and ten fellows being clergymen. This measure was on every account desirable, and has in all its consequences been happy. There had been long a jealousy in the minds of many respectable inhabitants concerning the college, arising from the fact that it was wholly in the hands of clergymen. The legislature in their first charter had given to the institution the annual sum of fifty pounds sterling, and continued this grant until the year 1755. It was discontinued on account of the heavy taxes occasioned by the last Canadian war. Before and after that time, also, valuable donations had been given for various purposes. But this object of jealousy had been deemed a reason for the intermission of all grants. The trustees and the legislature had, to a considerable extent, become mutually jealous and alienated. The pecuniary circumstances of the institution, although conducted with exemplary prudence, were altogether too limited to permit the expectations of the public to be realized; and this spirit of alienation regularly prevented the success of every attempt to increase the funds. Besides, the wisdom of such men, as would of course be added in this manner to the corporation, could not fail of being eminently conducive to the welfare of the college.

This project was formed, and to a great extent executed, by the Hon. James Hillhouse, treasurer of the college, to

whom the institution is at least as much indebted for its prosperity as to any benefactor whatever, and who is the author of several other plans and efforts, which have not a little promoted its best interests. In consequence of this legislative benefaction the trustees were enabled to purchase the whole front of the square on the north-western side of the green, and on this ground to erect three new academical buildings and a house for the president; to make a handsome addition to their library; to procure a complete philosophical and chemical apparatus, and to establish three new professorships; a professorship of chemistry, in 1800; of law, in 1804; and of languages and ecclesiastical history, in 1805.

The academical buildings consist of three colleges*, of four stories, each containing thirty-two rooms; named Connecticut Hall, Union Hall, and Berkely Hall; a chapel, containing in the third story a philosophical chamber and rooms for the philosophical apparatus, and a building resembling the chapel in form, and named the Connecticut Lyceum. This building contains seven recitation rooms, six for the three younger classes, and one for the senior class; a chemical laboratory, and its necessary appendages; two chambers, occupied by professors, and the library. The number of books in the library is about seven thousand volumes. Few libraries are, probably, more valuable in proportion to their size. The situation of the academical buildings is uncommonly pleasant, fronting the green on the north-western side, upon a handsome elevation, with a spacious yard before them. The buildings are plain; but so arranged as to strike the eye with pleasure.

I am, Sir, &c.

* A new college has been erected this year (1821).—*Pub.*

LETTER XVII.

Account of Yale College continued. Its principal Benefactors. Course of Studies. Medical Institution. Examinations. Annual Commencement. Degrees conferred. Government of the College. Its Parental Character. Number of its Alumni.

DEAR SIR;

THE history which I have given you of Yale college is no imperfect representative of the general history of such institutions in the United States. You will see in it a few of the numerous struggles which an infant seminary had to make, before it could arrive at a tolerable degree of maturity, in a country where a thin population, poverty, repeated wars, and heavy taxes, presented numerous obstacles to its growth, even among a people holding learning and science in the highest estimation. At the same time you are to be informed, that Yale college has never received any very considerable benefactions, except from the legislature of Connecticut. Munificent donations have been given to Harvard college by several opulent gentlemen, both in Great Britain and America. About two thousand pounds sterling, plainly intended for Yale college by the Hon. Edward Hopkins, once governor of Connecticut, fell, through a series of accidents, partly into the hands of her sister seminary, and partly into the hands of trustees of three grammar schools: one at New-Haven, one at Hartford, and one at Hadley, in Massachusetts. The wealthy men of this state have never been numerous, and but one of them* has ever thought it proper seriously to aid this institution out of his own treasures. Every thing of this nature, which has been done here, has been done by men of moderate fortunes. The

* Dr. Lathrop.

principal benefactors, in modern times, have been the Rev. Dr. Lockwood, of Andover, who gave one thousand four hundred and fifty-five dollars sixty-seven cents, to increase the library and philosophical apparatus; the Rev. Dr. Salter, of Mansfield, who gave one thousand five hundred and sixty-six dollars sixty-seven cents, to furnish the students with instruction in the Hebrew language; Dr. Lathrop, of Norwich, who gave one thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars sixty-seven cents; and the Hon. Oliver Wolcott, late secretary of the treasury of the United States, who gave two thousand dollars, for the purpose of increasing the library. Benefactions of this nature are among the most useful acts of charity ever performed by man. Upwards of two hundred youths are in this seminary continually receiving benefits from the efficacy of a moderate sum, for the real value of which millions would be a cheap price. There is not a legislature, a court, a congregation, a town-meeting, nor even a fire-side, which, however insensible of the fact, does not share in these benefits. From this fountain flow, circuitously indeed, but really and ultimately, the laws of the state and its whole jurisprudence; the rules which form its happy society, and the doctrines and precepts which are inculcated in its churches. He, therefore, who is a benefactor to an institution of this nature, becomes a benefactor to his country, and to all the generations by which it will hereafter be inhabited.

The course of education, pursued in this seminary, is the following:—

Students are examined for admission in the works of Virgil; the Select Orations of Cicero; Clark's, or Mair's Introduction to the making of Latin; the Greek Testament; the several branches of Arithmetic; Sallust, and Collectanea Græca Minora.

In the first, or freshman year, are studied Collectanea Græca Minora; Homer's Iliad, six books; Livy, the first five books; Cicero de Oratore; Adam's Roman Antiquities; Morse's Geography, vol. i.; Webber's Mathematics, vol. i.

In the second, or sophomore year, Horace; Collectanea Græca Majora, vol. i.; Morse's Geography, vol. ii.; Webber's Mathematics, vol. ii.; Euclid's Elements; English Grammar; Tytler's Elements of History.

In the third, or junior year, Tacitus (history); Collectanea Græca Majora; Enfield's Natural Philosophy; Enfield's Astronomy; Chemistry; Vince's Fluxions.

In the fourth, or senior year, Blair's Lectures—Logic; Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy; Locke on the Human Understanding; Paley's Moral Philosophy; Theology.

The professor of divinity reads no public lectures properly so called. Instead of this, he delivers a system of divinity in sermons: one every sabbath in term time through four years, the period of education in the college. The number of these discourses is one hundred and sixty: the term time in each year being forty weeks. He also delivers an informal lecture to the senior class every week; completing in this manner a system of theology each year. The officers and students of the college, and the families of the officers, form a congregation of themselves, and celebrate public worship in the chapel. A considerable number of strangers, however, are usually present.

The professor of mathematics and natural philosophy goes through a course of philosophical experiments with the junior class every year, and delivers two lectures to the senior class every week.

The professor of chemistry delivers one hundred and twenty lectures in that science every year to the two elder classes, so that each class hears a complete course of chemical lectures twice. These are delivered in the laboratory, a room peculiarly convenient for this purpose. They have here the advantage of seeing every experiment commenced and completed. In a common lecturing room this would be impracticable. Chemistry is taught here with all the modern improvements. The apparatus is ample, and the establishment superior, it is believed, to any thing of the kind on this continent. The chemical professor also delivers private lectures on mineralogy. A very valuable cabinet of mineralogical specimens is a part of the collegiate apparatus.

The professor of languages and ecclesiastical history will deliver a complete course of lectures on the latter subject, commencing with the earliest period of the church, and extending to the present time.

The professor of law is required to read thirty-six lectures only, to be completed in two years, on the law of nature, the American constitution, and the jurisprudence of Connecticut.

A medical institution will be established in this seminary at the next meeting of the corporation. It will consist of three professorships beside that of chemistry: one of the materia medica and botany; one of anatomy and surgery; and one of the theory and practice of physic. In this institution the medical society of this state co-operate with the college. The students will be required to study two years, and will be examined by a committee of eight: four of them professors, the other four chosen by the medical convention. When they have heard one course of lectures, and have been approved at this examination, they will receive a licence to practise physic and surgery. But, to receive the degree of M. D. they must have heard two courses of lectures. A course will be completed each year*.

The three younger academical classes are divided, and have each two tutors. To them they recite three times a day, four days in the week; and twice the two remaining days. The senior class recites once a day to the president. All the classes are made responsible for the manner in which they hear, and remember the lectures; being examined at every lecture concerning their knowledge of the preceding; and accordingly are all furnished with note books, in which they take down at the time the principal subjects of every lecture. This responsibility, so far as I am informed, is rarely a part of an European system of education.

In addition to all these exercises the students in the several classes are required daily to exhibit, in succession, compositions of various kinds, all of which are examined by the respective instructors. The senior and junior classes also dispute forensically every week two questions, on some subject approved by the instructor. When the dispute is ended, the instructor discusses the question at length, and gives his own views of

* The medical institution of Yale college was opened the beginning of November 1814. The number of students was thirty-seven. The next year it amounted to fifty-seven; and the year following to sixty-six. A valuable building, styled the medical college, together with land intended for a botanic garden, has been purchased for it by the state.

it, and of the several arguments on both sides, to the class. This is believed to be an exercise not inferior in its advantages to any other. The students also declaim, both publicly and privately, during their academical course. On the third Wednesday of July, annually, the senior class is examined by the professors, tutors, and other gentlemen commissioned for that purpose, in their whole course of studies. After the examination is ended a vote is taken on each, by which it is determined whether he shall receive the degree of bachelor of arts. The issue of this procedure is then reported to the president; and by him, on the Tuesday preceding the commencement, to the corporation. Such as are approved by the examiners, and have been guilty of no improper conduct in the interim, are then by an act of the corporation entitled to receive the following day the degree of bachelor of arts. All who have received this degree, and have not disgraced themselves by any improper conduct, are upon application entitled, at the end of three years, to receive that of master of arts.

On the Friday preceding the commencement, the senior class, who are regularly permitted to return home after the examination, re-assemble at the college. The following Sabbath a sermon is addressed to them by the professor of divinity.

The commencement is holden on the succeeding Wednesday, in the church belonging to the first congregation in this city. A very numerous and brilliant assembly is always collected upon this occasion; consisting of gentlemen and ladies of the first respectability in this and other states of the Union. The exhibitions begin, however, on the preceding evening; when speeches selected by the students of the three younger classes, from ancient or modern orators and poets, and approved by the faculty of the college, are declaimed. The number of exhibitors is usually not far from twenty. Honorary premiums are given to three in each class, who, by judges appointed for the purpose, are declared to have declaimed best.

On the morning of the commencement day, at 9 o'clock, a procession is formed at the chapel door by the students, candidates for the master's degree, the faculty, the corporation, and a numerous train of the clergy and other gentlemen, under the conduct of the sheriff of the county; and proceeds circuitously to the church. The exercises commence

with a prayer by the president and a piece of sacred music. Such candidates for the first degree as have been previously selected by the faculty for this purpose, then pronounce a series of orations, disputes, colloquies, &c., written by themselves. Another piece of sacred music concludes the exercises of the morning. The exercises of the afternoon differ little from those of the morning; except that orations are spoken by the candidates for the second degree, and that the degrees are conferred. The decorum observed on this occasion is entire, honourable to those who assemble, and strongly indicative of a refined state of society. At the same time the respect manifested to learning and science, by the annual assembling of such a multitude of gentlemen and ladies of the first consideration in the country, has the happiest influence, especially on the youth, who are taught in this manner, more effectually than they could be in any other, the high importance of their own pursuits in the view of those, whose opinions they of course regard with the utmost confidence and veneration.

I ought before to have observed, that all the students in the seminary are publicly examined twice every year in their several studies; and, if found seriously deficient, are liable to degradation. In this exercise a fortnight each year is very laboriously employed.

The expense of tuition is thirty-three dollars a year, or seven pounds eight shillings and six pence sterling. This sum, which is paid by every student, entitles each one to the instruction given by the professors, as well as to that of the ordinary course.

The government of Yale college is in the hands of the president and eighteen fellows, who have power to "make, repeal, and alter, all such wholesome and reasonable laws, rules, and ordinances, not repugnant to the laws of the state, as they shall think fit and proper for the instruction and education of the students, and to order, govern, rule, and manage the said college, and all matters, affairs, and things, thereunto belonging. Their acts, however, are to be laid before the legislature as often as required; and may be repealed and disallowed by the legislature whenever it shall think proper." The president, also, with the consent of the fellows, has power

"to give and confer all such honours, degrees, and licenses, as are usually given in colleges or universities, upon such as they shall think worthy thereof."

The executive government is entirely in the hands of the faculty; but with a right of appeal to the corporation in cases of expulsion, dismission for fault, and rustication for any term longer than nine months. A new trial must first be requested, within thirty days after the sentence, and had before the faculty. If at this trial the former judgment is confirmed, the parent or guardian of the student must lodge a petition to the corporation with the president, within thirty days after the new trial; and the president is required to lay it before the corporation at their next meeting. There has been one instance of such an appeal within my knowledge. Formerly the system of government was by trials, fines, and other public punishments. This system has for some time been chiefly disused. At present the administration is almost entirely of what may be called a parental character. Whenever the faculty are satisfied, that any student is guilty of those inferior trespasses against the laws of the college, or of morality, which in their consequences involve desertion of study, and disorderly or dissolute conduct; the student, after proper attempts have been made to reform him by private remonstrance, is solemnly admonished that he is in danger. If he continues unreformed, he is admonished a second time, and his conduct made known to his parent or guardian; that he may unite his efforts with those of the faculty for the reformation of the youth. If the youth still persists in his vicious courses, he is sent home, and cannot be re-admitted without a vote of the faculty.

This scheme of government has been found to unite in it every advantage. It is more efficacious than the former, more acceptable to the students, and more approved by the public. So far as I know it is, however, singular.

The immediate direction of the financial and economical concerns of the institution is in the hands of a committee, consisting indifferently of three or four members of the corporation, chosen annually by ballot, and styled "the Prudential Committee of Yale College. The president *ex-officio* is always one. This committee meets regularly four times in a year, and usually oftener; has the superintendance of the col-

legiate buildings, lands, and other property; examines all accounts with the college; audits the accounts of the treasurer; directs the payment of all bills against the college; commences and manages suits; and, generally, transacts the whole of that complicated routine of business, which grows of course out of the concerns of every such institution. It also prepares and arranges business for the corporation, and is in a word the spring of most of its transactions.

The number of students is ordinarily about two hundred and sixty. The whole number graduated, to the year 1814, was three thousand four hundred and ten. Of these two hundred and seven have filled the high offices of magistracy, nine hundred and forty-one have been ministers of the Gospel, one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight have died, and one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two were still living.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XVIII.

Northford. Tenure of Lands. Durham. Rev. Dr. Goodrich. Middletown. Beautiful Prospects. Account of great Speculations in Stocks and Lands.

DEAR SIR;

HAVING finished the account of New-Haven, I will proceed with my journey.

We rode the first day to Middletown, and dined at Northford, a parish formed by the skirts of North-Haven, Branford, and Wallingford. Our road, for about five miles, was on a plain chiefly sandy and heavy: the remaining five miles, on an easy succession of hills and valleys. This parish is excellent land, the soil of a rich loam, spreading from Guilford on the Sound to Feeding Hills, a parish of West-Springfield in Massachusetts; an extent of sixty miles, comprehending a considerable part of the counties of New-Haven, Middlesex, and Hartford. If I mistake not it is the same with that, which is mentioned by Bryan Edwards, Esq., in his account of Jamaica, under the name of brick mould. It is almost universally fertile, and is happily fitted for every kind of cultivation and product. Here it is well cultivated, and produces an abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life. The neighbourhood of the New-Haven market enables the farmers to avail themselves of all their advantages, by a ready sale of every thing which they raise. There is a decent but thinly-built village on the hill, upon which their church is erected, extending along the road perhaps a mile. The houses are generally good; and their owners obviously in easy circumstances.

I say their owners, for you are to understand, that every man in this country, almost without an exception, lives on

his own ground. The lands are universally holden in fee-simple; and descend by law to all the children in equal shares. Every farmer in Connecticut, and throughout New-England, is therefore dependent for his enjoyments on none but himself, his government, and his God; and is the little monarch of a dominion, sufficiently large to furnish all the supplies of competence, with a number of subjects as great as he is able to govern. In the cultivation of his farm he gratifies his reason, his taste, and his hopes; and usually finds the gratification at least sufficient for such a world as this. Here he can do every thing which is right, and no man can with impunity do any thing to him which is wrong. If he is not in debt, an event necessary only from sickness or decrepitude, he is absolutely his own master, and the master of all his possessions.

There is something to me in the sight of this independence, and the enjoyments by which it is accompanied, more interesting, more congenial to the relish of nature, than in all the melancholy grandeur of the decayed castles and ruined abbeys with which some parts of Europe are so plentifully stocked. The story of this happiness will indeed be less extended, and less amusing, but the actual prospect of it is incomparably more delightful.

In consequence of this mode of occupancy, every man has something to defend; and that something, in his own estimation, of incalculable value. It is a secure estate, absolutely his own, and of such magnitude as to furnish an ample competence to himself and his family. In estimating the subject, pounds, shillings, and pence are forgotten. Too much endeared to him to be computed in this manner, it endears every thing around him; his neighbourhood, his country, and its government; for with every serious thought concerning the blessings which he enjoys, all these are intimately associated. With such an attachment to the objects which claim his protection, and the high spirit of independence inwrought from the beginning into his character, it is scarcely possible that he should not act the soldier, when he perceives any danger threatening his enjoyments or his country.

Durham is a township, ten miles from Northford, and six

from Middletown. The soil is that which has been already mentioned, but rather more fertile. The houses, taken together, are in a small degree inferior. The greater part of them are built upon a single street, about a mile in length, and form what in New-England is called the Town. It will be necessary, perhaps, to explain to you the manner in which I use these terms. A town, in the language of New-England, denotes a collection of houses in the first parish, if the township contains more than one, constituting the principal, and ordinarily the original settlement in that parish. A street is the way on which such a collection of houses is built, but does not at all include the fact that the way is paved; whether paved or not, it is equally named a street. Nor is it intended that the houses are contiguous, or even very near to each other. A great part of the streets in New-England, exclusively of the paths which run through them, are, during the pleasant season, equally verdant with the neighbouring fields. Town is also used sometimes to denote a township, but it will not be used in this manner in these Letters. In legal language it intends the inhabitants of a township assembled in lawful town meeting.

Durham is situated on a handsome elevation, bounded on the east by a considerable range of hills, with a large valley, composed of meadows and pastures, on the west, and limited at the distance of four or five miles by mountains, belonging to the Middletown range. This township has been distinguished many years for a very fine breed of cattle. Two oxen, presented by some of the inhabitants to General Washington, furnished a dinner for all the officers of the American army, at Valley Forge, and all their servants. These oxen were driven almost five hundred miles, through a country nearly exhausted of its forage. Yet one of them, a steer, five years old, weighed two thousand two hundred and seventy pounds.

The Rev. Dr. Goodrich, late minister of Durham, who died November 1797, was a man of distinguished learning and wisdom, energy and industry. This gentleman was born in Wethersfield, November 6th, 1734, and was educated at Yale college, where he received the degree of A. B. in 1752, and

of A. M. in 1755. The next year he was appointed a tutor in that seminary, and the year following was introduced into the ministry in this town. In 1776 he was chosen a fellow of Yale college. He died at Norfolk, while visiting some lands belonging to that institution, in the county of Litchfield. The evening before he died he appeared to enjoy all his usual health and cheerfulness. After he arose in the morning, while employed in dressing himself, he fell down in an apoplectic fit and expired. In him his congregation, Yale college, the state, and the church, suffered a loss not often experienced. No man so well understood, no man more faithfully or prudently pursued the interests of that seminary.

Durham contained, in 1756, 765 white inhabitants, and 34 blacks; in 1774, 1,031 whites, 44 blacks, and 1 Indian; in 1790, 1,071 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,029 persons, of which 1,020 were whites; and, in 1810, 1,101.

Middletown is, like New-Haven, a township and a city. The township includes four parishes, the city and the upper houses on the east, Middlefield and Westfield on the west. The soil is the same which has been mentioned; and, wherever it is skilfully cultivated, is very productive.

The city is built on a beautiful declivity, along the western bank of Connecticut river. The houses are generally good. The two principal streets run parallel with the river, or north and south. Its public buildings are a court-house and gaol, and five churches; two Presbyterian, under which name I shall mention all Congregational and Independent churches, an Episcopal, a Methodist, and a Baptist. One of the Presbyterian churches is handsome. The number of houses in this city is about two hundred and fifty.

The prospects in and around this city are in an uncommon degree delightful. On the west, at the distance of four or five miles, rise to the height of eight hundred feet the mountains of the Middletown range. An undulating country, ornamented with farms, groves, and well-appearing houses, extends from their base to the river. Directly south, recedes from the river, which here bends several miles to the east, near the lower extremity of the city, a spacious and beautiful valley, bordered on the eastern side by hills, ascending with an easy,

elegant acclivity several miles, to such a height as frequently to be called mountains, and diversified with a rich variety of agricultural scenery.

Immediately north lies an extensive interval, through which runs a large mill-stream. Beyond it, at the distance of three miles, appears in full view, on the southern declivity of a fine eminence, the handsome village, called the Upper Houses. The river, a noble stream, half a mile in breadth, winds in delightful prospect directly beneath this complication of elegant objects eight or ten miles, losing itself, at the lower limit, by passing through the range of hills already mentioned.

Beyond the river rise the fine slopes of Chatham, covered with all the varieties of culture, orchard, grove, and forest, and interspersed with well-appearing farm-houses. These grounds, and indeed the whole assemblage and arrangement of the objects which form the landscape, are fashioned with an exquisite hand, and delight the eye of every traveller.

The commerce of Middletown has long been considerable, but I think has obviously declined within a few years past. The first cause, both in time and efficacy, of this evil, was, if I mistake not, what has been proverbially called in this country speculation. Most trading countries have, at some time or other, suffered from this evil. The Mississippi and South Sea schemes are memorable instances. Yet I strongly suspect, that had the United States not been possessed at the time of singular means of prosperity, the speculations, which a few years since spread through their territory, would have been productive of consequences perhaps more deplorable than those which followed the bursting of these bubbles.

In certain stages of society the expectations of enterprising men may, with little difficulty, be raised to any imaginable height. Fortunes, they will easily believe, may be amassed at a stroke; without industry or economy, by mere luck, or the energy of superior talents for business. These talents every sanguine man will arrogate to himself, and on this luck he will rely without a fear. The prize, he is assured, will fall to him, and the twenty thousand blanks, by which it is ominously surrounded, will be drawn by others. That others have failed of success, while attempting to acquire instantaneous wealth, he

will indeed acknowledge; but he will show you, that the failure was owing to that want of genius, skill, or caution from which himself is happily exempted. Hazardous, therefore, as you may believe the voyage, he cheerfully spreads all his sails to a breeze, which is now rising only to waft him to fortunate islands.

The first great event, which gave birth to extended speculation in the United States, was the establishment of the funding system, *i. e.* the scheme adopted by the American government for funding and paying the public debt incurred by the revolutionary war. The speculations which sprang from this source pervaded and shook every state in the Union. In New-York, three persons, probably possessing a capital amounting scarcely to forty-five thousand dollars, commenced a course of adventures in the field, which at that time astonished the community, and will hereafter be considered as an Arabian tale. One was a lawyer of considerable reputation, and connected with several respectable families. He was acute, inventive, sanguine, bold, eloquent, and persuasive. A second was a merchant, apparently engaged in extensive business, and commonly supposed to be rich. The third was an active, enterprising man. By a series of singular efforts, which cannot be here described, these three men embarked a considerable part of the community in the business of buying and selling the public stock; and ultimately raised the mania to such a height, that the six per cent. stock was sold in the market at twenty-six shillings on the pound. You will easily believe they must have obtained enormous loans, and an almost unlimited credit. On this basis they carried their views so far, it is said, as to form a serious design of purchasing the whole stock belonging to the bank of the United States, amounting to ten millions of dollars, and the whole of the six per cent. stock, amounting to upwards of thirty-nine millions more. In the progress of the frenzy multitudes of all classes, and among them many widows and orphans, lost the whole of their property.

All this, however, was trifling in comparison with what followed. Before the period specified, Massachusetts, and soon afterwards New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North-Carolina offered for sale immense quantities of uncultivated

land. The splendour of the object fascinated the eye of every rash adventurer, and vast purchases were made by various individuals. Whenever they sold at an early date, or when they were able to pay for the lands, and retain them without inconvenience, they were successful; while those who purchased and sold on credit, as almost all did, generally became bankrupts. The market was glutted; the price fell suddenly; and those who had bought before this fall, and were obliged to sell in order to make their payments, were often unable to obtain more than a moderate part of what they had given. In the course of buying and selling, the chain of purchase and credit was extended through a great multitude of individuals, and involved most of them in a common ruin.

Virginia, in the measures which she pursued, added to these mischiefs. In the land-office of that state patents were sold, which conveyed to the patentee the right of locating his purchase wherever he pleased, within certain limits. Hence several patents were often placed successively on the same tract. These patents were sold again in other states, where the nature of the measures pursued was perfectly unknown. When the purchaser went to look for his land, he found it already occupied by a prior patent, and himself the purchaser of a mere bit of paper. He had then to choose whether he would consent to be ruined in this manner, or embark in a lawsuit, which would conduct him circuitously to the same ruin.

In Pennsylvania speculation was perhaps still more wild than in Virginia. R——— M———, Esq., long employed in extensive and honourable traffic, and in several public offices of high distinction, engaged with some associates in land speculations, which may be fairly compared with those already mentioned. Whatever land was offered for sale, they appeared ready to buy; and actually bought quantities which outran every sober thought. To find purchasers for provinces and countries was not an easy task. The best resource was apparently presented in the rage for emigration, which at that period prevailed throughout a considerable part of Europe. Agents were therefore employed, proposals issued, advertisements circulated, and pamphlets published, inviting the Europeans to take possession of different Paradises on this side of the Atlantic. A considerable number of them accepted the

invitation; and when they arrived, found themselves in some instances possessed of a title to lands which had been previously sold; in others, to swamps, pine-barrens, or mountains, incapable of culture; and in others, to tracts which never existed. All these fairy-land transactions terminated, however, in the ruin of their authors.

In the year 1795, the legislature of Georgia sold to certain companies twenty-two millions of acres, or thirty-four thousand three hundred and seventy-five square miles, equal to the one half of New-England. This was called the *Yazoo purchase*, and lies in the western part of that state*. Five hundred thousand dollars were received by the legislature as the price of the purchase. The territory was split up into endless divisions, and sold in almost every part of the Union. On this ocean of speculation great multitudes of sober, industrious people launched the earnings of their whole lives, and multitudes became indebted for large sums which they never possessed. A subsequent legislature declared the sale fraudulent, and ordered the record to be destroyed. The shock produced by this act throughout the Union cannot be described. The speculating Croesus in a moment became a beggar, while the honest purchaser, stripped of his possessions, was left to meet old age without property, consolation, or hope.

In the mean time, the state of Connecticut sold a tract within the present state of Ohio, and on the south shore of Lake Erie, called New-Connecticut, containing about three million six hundred thousand acres. The sale was fair and unexceptionable; but at this period dangerous, and to many of the purchasers was fraught with severe distresses, and to some with absolute ruin.

In almost every part of the United States these evils have been seriously felt. Several citizens of Middletown have been affected by them, either as principals or sureties. In this manner a shock has been given to its commerce, and generally to its whole business, from which for a considerable length of time it will hardly recover.

Such was the account which I wrote of this subject in 1800.

* Now the western part of Mississippi.

and to the present moment* it has been exactly verified. The inhabitants appear, however, to be gradually recovering their former enterprise†.

Middletown is a port of entry, and most of the vessels from the Upper Houses, Wethersfield, and Hartford, have been accustomed to clear out at this office. The following list will give you an imperfect view of the commerce of this part of Connecticut river; but is the only one, which I have been able to obtain. It is imperfect, because a considerable part of the shipping, owned in these towns, is cleared out at New-London.

Years.	Duties. Dollars.	Cents.
1801	91,418	94
1802	117,301	0
1803	128,194	0
1804	84,374	0
1805	79,460	0
1806	87,535	0
1807	84,376	0
1808	48,401	0
1809	48,371	0
1810	64,330	0

The imports may be estimated, in the gross, at four times the amount of the duties. Of the exports I have not been able to obtain any returns, nor of the coasting trade.

The township of Middletown, including that of Chatham, contained, in 1756, 5,446 white inhabitants, and 218 blacks; in 1774, 7,049 whites, and 226 blacks; and, in 1790, Middletown contained 5,375 persons; and Chatham, 3,230: total, 8,605. In 1800, Middletown contained 5,382 (the city, 2,014, and the rest of the township, 3,368; and Chatham

* 1810.

† Since this account was originally written, the inhabitants of Middletown have extensively renewed their energy, their business, and their prosperity. They have also added much to the appearance of their city, by the erection of a considerable number of handsome buildings.

3,286; total, 8,668. In 1810, Middletown contained 5,382, and Chatham 3,258; total, 8,670.

The inhabitants of this city are sociable, hospitable, and agreeable: somewhat gayer than their neighbours, liberally disposed, and generally very pleasing to strangers.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XIX.

Stepney. Prospect from Rocky-Hill. Wethersfield. Story of William Beadle. Hartford. Its Public Buildings. Soil. Commerce and Population. Rev. Thomas Hooker.

DEAR SIR;

IN the morning (September 22d) we rode to Hartford through Middletown, Upper Houses, Stepney, and Wethersfield: fifteen miles. The parish, called the Upper Houses, is a beautiful tract of very fertile land. The soil, except a plain of moderate extent on the northern extremity, is the same with that already described. The plain is light, but warm. The village which bears this name, and contains a considerable part of the inhabitants, is a thrifty settlement on the southern declivity of a beautiful hill. The houses, about eighty in number, are generally well built, and the whole place wears an air of sprightliness and prosperity. An advantageous trade is carried on by the inhabitants, particularly with the West-Indies. From the summit of this hill the prospect of the scenery, which I have described, is eminently delightful.

Stepney, five miles farther north, is a parish of Wethersfield, lying on a collection of hills, which are a continuation of the Middletown range; and at the point, where it crosses the river. These hills are handsome, and very fertile. One of the eminences, Rocky-Hill, has given its name to the parish so generally, that few persons in the state have ever heard of the name Stepney. On the northern side of this hill there is a magnificent prospect over the Connecticut valley, about fifty miles in length and twenty in breadth. Immediately beneath lies the beautiful town of Wethersfield, with its intervals on the east, and finely sloping hills on the west. Between these intervals and those of Glastenbury winds Connecticut river. Still farther east is the town of Glastenbury itself. On the north is the city of Hartford, and the undulating country,

which lies westward of it. The Lyme range limits the view on the east, and that of Mount Tom on the west; and on the north, at the distance of forty-two miles, it is bounded by the mountains Tom and Holyoke.

This parish is a rich agricultural country, and carries on a considerable commerce. Its landing is also the seat of almost all the trade of Wethersfield. The people are prosperous; the houses generally very good; the church, a new building, is handsome; and every thing which meets the eye wears the appearance of industry and prosperity. There is one Presbyterian congregation in each of the last-mentioned parishes. From Stepney to Wethersfield is three miles. The country is extremely pleasant, and settled almost in the form of a village.

Wethersfield lies on Connecticut river, eleven miles north of Middletown, and four south of Hartford. The soil is probably not inferior to that of any township in the state. The intervals, which are large, are of the richest quality, and the uplands, when well cultivated, are very productive. The nature and value of intervals I shall have occasion to describe particularly hereafter. It will be sufficient to observe here, that they are lands formed by alluvion, and are usually of the highest fertility. At the same time they are ordinarily fashioned with a degree of neatness and elegance, which is unrivalled.

This township contains three parishes; Stepney, already mentioned, on the south; Newington on the north-west, and Wethersfield proper on the north-east. The town of Wethersfield is chiefly built in the north-eastern part of the parish, bordering upon the river. Of the three principal streets, two run from north to south, parallel with the general course of the river; and the third from south-east to north-west, along the bank of a large cove, formed in the north-eastern quarter of the township. The site of the town, and the prospects of the surrounding country, are very pleasant. The houses, taken together, are neither so well built, nor so well repaired, as those of their neighbours. Forty years since they appeared better than those of any town in the state. For some reason or other, imperfectly known to me, Wethersfield has not kept pace with the general improvement of the country. Many of

the houses are however good, and several very good. The inhabitants have for many years cultivated onions as an article of commerce. Many parts of the American coast, and the West-Indian islands, furnished a market for this commodity, and the fertility of the soil insured regularly a rich crop. While the market lasted, this was the most profitable article of culture known in the country. Ninety perches of land have in a single year yielded about two hundred dollars. It was not to be expected, that a source of so much profit would be unobserved by their countrymen. Various rivals accordingly attempted to gain a share of these advantages; the market became overstocked, and the business dwindled in its value. It is however still a source of profit.

The regular production of a considerable staple commodity is, I suspect, attended with several disadvantages to those by whom it is produced. It becomes an object of particular attention to the merchant, and will be more exposed to systematical schemes of overreaching, than a mass of mixed and various produce. The farmer, who employs himself in the cultivation of onions, will throughout the cold season have neither cattle to feed nor grain to thresh. During this period he will scarcely fail of being idle a considerable part of his time, and of betaking himself to unprofitable company-keeping, or other resorts, which are both expensive and mischievous.

The fisheries of salmon, shad, and herrings, in this town, have always been very productive; and were it not that fishermen are prone to take little care of their earnings, could not fail of yielding considerable wealth.

It is a remarkable fact, that salmon, within a few years past, appear to have deserted Connecticut river. Until that time, they abounded in it, from the first settlement of the state. They were also large and fat, and were coveted by all the epicures in the country. This extraordinary event is supposed, and probably with justice, to have been owing to the erection of dams across the river, particularly that of Montague, for the purpose of establishing a canal navigation. This dam is seventeen feet in height. It was impossible, therefore, for the salmon to pass over it. Here of course they were obstructed in their natural career in the season of spawning, and have left the river in disgust, or the race has failed. The latter is not

improbably the fact, as no perceptible increase of their numbers has been discovered in the neighbouring streams.

The inhabitants of Wethersfield are distinguished for their attachment to order and government. The gentlemen and ladies are highly distinguished for the possession of those qualities which especially furnish the pleasures of refined society.

Wethersfield is remarkable for having been the scene of a crime, more atrocious and horrible than any other which has been perpetrated within the limits of New-England, and scarcely exceeded in the history of man. By the politeness of my friend, Colonel Belden, I am enabled to give you an authentic account of this terrible transaction, taken from the records of the third school district in Wethersfield. I shall not, however, copy the record exactly, but will give you the substance of every thing which it contains.

William Beadle was born in a little village near London. In the year 1755, he went out to Barbadoes, with Governor Pinfold, where he stayed six years, and then returned to England. In 1762, he purchased a small quantity of goods, and brought them to New-York, and thence to Stratford in Connecticut, where he lived about two years. Thence he removed to Derby, where he continued a year or two, and thence to Fairfield. Here he married Miss Lathrop, a lady of a respectable family, belonging to Plymouth in Massachusetts. In 1772, he removed to Wethersfield, and continued in this town about ten years, sustaining the character of a worthy honest man, and a fair dealer.

In the great controversy which produced the American revolution, he adopted American principles, and characteristically adhered with rigid exactness to whatever he had once adopted. After the continental paper currency * began to depreciate, almost every trader sold his goods at an enhanced price. Beadle, however, continued to sell his at the original prices, and to receive the depreciated currency in payment. This money he kept by him until it had lost its value. The decay of his property rendered him melancholy, as appeared by several letters which he left behind him, addressed to different persons of his acquaintance.

* The paper money emitted by Congress during the revolutionary war.

By the same letters, and other writings, it appears, that he began to entertain designs of the most deperate nature three years before his death, but was induced to postpone them by a hope, that Providence would, in some way or other, change his circumstances for the better, so far as to make it advisable for him to wait for death in the ordinary course of events. But every thing which took place, whether of great or little importance, tended, he says, to convince him, that it was his duty to adopt the contrary determination. During all this time he managed his ordinary concerns just as he had heretofore done. His countenance wore no appearance of any change in his feelings or views, and not one of his acquaintance seems to have suspected that he was melancholy. The very evening before the catastrophe to which I have alluded took place, he was in company with several of his friends, and conversed on grave and interesting subjects, but without the least appearance of any peculiar emotion.

On the morning of December 11, 1782, he called up a female servant, who slept in the same room with his children, and was the only domestic in his family, and directed her to arise so softly as not to disturb the children. When she came down, he gave her a note, which he had written to Dr. Farnsworth, his family physician, and told her to carry it, and wait until the physician was ready to come with her; informing her at the same time, that Mrs. Beadle had been ill through the night.

After the servant had gone, as appeared by the deplorable scene presented to the eyes of those who first entered the house, he took an axe, struck each of his children once, and his wife twice on the head, cut their throats quite across with a carving-knife, which he had prepared for the purpose, and then shot himself through the head with a pistol.

Dr. Farnsworth, upon opening the note, found that it announced the diabolical purpose of the writer; but supposing it impossible that a sober man should adopt so horrible a design, concluded that he had been suddenly seized by a delirium. Dr. Farnsworth, however, hastened with the note to the Honourable Stephen Mix Mitchell, now chief justice of the state. This gentleman realized the tragedy at once. The house was

immediately opened, and all the family were found dead in the manner which has been specified.

I knew this family intimately. Mrs. Beadle possessed a very pleasing person, a fine mind, and delightful manners. The children were unusually lovely and promising. Beadle in his writings, which were numerous, professed himself a Deist, and declared that man was, in his opinion, a mere machine, unaccountable for his actions, and incapable of either virtue or vice. The idea of a revelation he rejected with contempt. At the same time he reprobated the vices of others in the strongest terms, and spoke of duty, in the very same writings, in language decisively expressive of his belief in the existence of both duty and sin. The jury of inquest pronounced him to be of sound mind, and brought in a verdict of murder and suicide.

The inhabitants of Wethersfield, frantic with indignation and horror at a crime so unnatural and monstrous, and at the sight of a lady and her children, for whom they had the highest regard, thus butchered by one who ought to have protected them at the hazard of his life, took his body, as they found it, and dragged it on a small sled to the bank of the river, without any coffin, with the bloody knife tied upon it, and buried it as they would have buried the carcass of a beast, between high and low water mark.

The corpses of the unhappy family were the next day carried, with every mark of respect, to the church, where a sermon was preached to a very numerous concourse of sincere mourners. They were then interred in the common burying-ground, and in one grave.

Mrs. Beadle was thirty-two years of age, and the eldest child about fifteen. Beadle was fifty-two years of age, of small stature, and of an ordinary appearance. He was contemplative, possessed good sense, loved reading, and delighted in intelligent conversation. His manners were gentlemanly, and his disposition hospitable. His countenance exhibited a strong appearance of determination; yet he rarely looked the person, with whom he was conversing, in the face, but turned his eye askance, the only suspicious circumstance which I observed in his conduct; unless a degree of reserve and mystery, which always attended him, might merit the name of suspicious.

Such as he was, he was cheerfully admitted to the best society in this town; and there is no better society.

Colonel Belden adds to his account the following note:

"This deed of horror seems to have been marked by the indignation of Heaven in the treatment of the body of the perpetrator.

"The ground, in which he was first buried, happened to belong to the township of Glastenbury, although lying on the western side of the river. The inhabitants of Glastenbury, thinking themselves insulted by the burying of such a monster within its limits, manifested their uneasiness in such a manner as to induce the selectmen of the town of Wethersfield to order a removal of the body. Accordingly it was removed in the night, secretly, and by a circuitous route, and buried again at some distance from the original place of sepulture. Within a few days, however, the spot where it was interred was discovered. It was removed again in the night, and buried near the western bank of the river, in Wethersfield. The following spring it was uncovered by the freshet. The flesh was washed from the bones. At this season, a multitude of persons customarily resort to Wethersfield, to purchase fish. By these and various other persons, in the indulgence of a strange, and I think unnatural curiosity, the bones were broken off, and scattered through the country."

Pride was unquestionably the ruin of Beadle. He was, obviously, a man of a very haughty mind. This passion induced him, when he had once determined, that the paper currency would escape a depreciation, to continue selling his goods at the former prices, after the whole community had, with one voice, adopted a new rate of exchange. Under the influence of this passion he refused to lay out his money in fixed property, although prudence plainly dictated such a measure. When he saw his circumstances reduced so as to threaten him with a necessary and humiliating change in his style of living, pride prompted him, instead of making new exertions to provide for his family, to sit down in a sullen hostility against God and man, and to waste the whole energy of his mind in resentment against his lot, and in gloomy determinations to escape from it. He doated upon his wife and children. His pride could not bear the thought of leaving them behind him, with-

out a fortune sufficient to give them undisputed distinction in the world.

A gentleman, who had long been a friend to Beadle, offered him letters of credit, to any amount, which he should wish. Of this his friend informed me personally. Pride induced Beadle to refuse the offer.

In these charges I am supported by Beadle's own writings. He alleges this very cause for his conduct, and alleges it everywhere, not in so many words indeed, but in terms, which, though specious, are too explicit to be misconstrued. Beadle, as I have observed, denied the existence of a Divine Revelation; yet he placed a strong reliance upon dreams, as conveying direct indications of the will of God, so strong as to make them the directories of his own moral conduct in a case of tremendous magnitude. He appears by his writings to have been long persuaded, that he had a right to take the lives of his children, because they were his children; and therefore, in his own view, his property, and to be disposed of according to his pleasure; *i. e.* as I suppose, in any manner which he should judge conducive to their good. But he thought himself unwarranted to take away the life of his wife; because, being the child of another person, she was not in the same sense his property, nor under his control. This you will call a strange current of thought, but the manner in which he solved his scruples was certainly not less strange. His wife, under the influence of very painful impressions from his extraordinary conduct, particularly from the fact, that he continually brought an axe, and other instruments of death, into his bedchamber, dreamed frequently, and in a very disturbed manner. One morning she told him, that in her sleep, the preceding night, she had seen her own corpse, and the corpses of her children, exposed in coffins in the street, that the sun shone on them for a long time, and that they were ultimately frozen. This dream made a deep impression on Beadle's mind. In his writings he mentions it as having solved all his doubts; and as a direct revelation from Heaven, that it was lawful for him to put his wife also to death.

We have here a strong proof of the propriety, with which infidels boast of their exemption from superstition and credulity.

Had this man possessed even a little share of the patience and fortitude of a Christian; had he learned to submit to the pleasure of God with that resignation which is so obvious a dictate even of natural religion; had that humility, which is so charming a feature of the Christian character, formed any part of his own, he might even now have been alive; and might, in all probability, have seen his children grow up to be the support and the joy of his declining years.

He died worth three hundred pounds sterling. The farmers in Connecticut were, at an average, probably not worth more, at the same period. Every one of them, at least every one of them whose property did not overrun this sum, might, therefore, with equal propriety, have acted in the same manner. What would become of the world if every man in it, who was worth no more than three hundred pounds sterling, were to murder himself and his family?

I think you will agree with me, that we have here a strong specimen of the weakness of infidelity, and of the wickedness to which it conducts its votaries.

Wethersfield contained, in the year 1756, 2,374 whites, and 109 blacks; in 1774, 3,347 whites, and 142 blacks; in 1790, 3,806; in 1800, although a considerable part of this township had been annexed to that of Berlin, it contained 4,105 inhabitants, of which 95 were blacks; and, in 1810, 3,961.

Hartford lies upon the western bank of Connecticut river, about forty miles from its mouth, thirty-four from New-Haven, one hundred from Boston, and one hundred and ten from New-York. Its latitude is 41° 44′ north, its longitude 72° 50′ west. The name Hartford, like those of Middletown and New-Haven, denotes a township and a city. The township contains, beside the city, the parish of West-Hartford, and an intervening tract, the inhabitants of which belong to the congregations in the city.

The city of Hartford borders on Connecticut river. The principal street extends parallel to the river, at the distance of about one-fourth of a mile, in a direction generally from the north-west to the south-east, about a mile and a half. There are several other streets which run parallel with this, and several others still which cross these nearly at right angles. Of these the principal is State Street, which runs in front of

the State-House directly to the river. A considerable part of the city is built upon elevated ground. The soil of this township is of the kind heretofore mentioned, and is very rich; the intervals and the uplands being both very productive. The upland meadows are esteemed superior to any in the state. The loam, before mentioned, throughout a considerable part of this township, is strongly impregnated with clay, and not unfrequently is changed entirely into clay.

The parish of West-Hartford, for the fertility of its soil, the pleasantness of its situation, the sobriety, industry, good order, and religious deportment of its inhabitants, is not, so far as I know, excelled in the state.

The position of the city, also, is extremely pleasant. The prospect from the State-House, or any other considerable elevation, is substantially the same with that which is seen from Rocky-Hill. The houses in Hartford, taken together, are better built than those in New-Haven. More of them are, indeed, old and decayed; but many more, also, are of brick, handsomely built in the most modern style, and almost universally of three stories.

The public buildings are the state-house, court-house, gaol, a bank, and four churches, two Presbyterian, one Episcopal, and one Baptist.

The state-house is fifty feet in width, fifty in height, and one hundred and thirty in length. The first story is twenty feet high, of dark brown free-stone, with circular breaks over each window. The second story is twenty, and the third ten feet high, and the division between them is marked by a band of free-stone. From each front, finished with iron gates, projects an open arcade, sixteen feet wide and forty long. The one on the west supports a second and third story, enclosed and finished like the rest of the building. On the eastern one stands a Doric portico, thirty feet high, of ten columns, built of brick, and stuccoed white. On the first floor of the south wing are four rooms, occupied as offices by the treasurer and comptroller. The north contains the court room, of forty-five feet diameter. Within it is a row of Doric fluted columns, ten feet from the wall, supporting the floor of the representatives' room, which is as large as the one below, and thirty feet high, including the second and third stories. Ionic pilasters

are between each window, whose entablature and balustrade reach to the bottom of the attic windows, and on the south side of the room form the front of a gallery supported by fluted columns. The council chamber occupies the south wing on the same floor, is of the same size as the one last described, and differs from it only in being without a gallery, and having in the place of pilasters Corinthian columns, whose capitals are without their appropriate leaves. A double flight of stairs from the west end of the area below communicates to the hall, which is the entrance to the two large rooms. The hall is forty feet by twenty-five, and twenty high. At its east end are windows, opening from the floor to the portico, and at the west are doors, communicating with the secretary's office, and with a spiral staircase, which leads to the gallery and to committee rooms in the third story, over the hall and the secretary's office.

The bank is of brick, eighty-five feet long. Its whole front of thirty-six feet is covered by a simple Tuscan portico, of four columns and two pilasters, built of dark brown free-stone, and is about thirty-eight feet high, including the pediment and the eight steps, upon which it is raised above the level of the street.

The north Presbyterian church, or church belonging to the first congregation, is one of the handsomest buildings in the state. It is sixty-four feet in front, forty feet high, and one hundred in length, exclusive of the portico. All the columns, which decorate the buildings, are Ionic and of wood. The ceiling within rests upon eight columns, which are fluted, and the front of the gallery is supported by a connection with them, not perceptible at first view. The pulpit is of varnished wood, resembling light coloured mahogany, standing on fluted columns. The ascent to it is by a circular flight of stairs on each side. On the outside of the building six steps of dark brown free-stone extend throughout the whole front, including the portico, which projects sixteen feet, is forty long, and consists of eight columns, four in front and the four corresponding ones against the wall support the inner entablature. Behind the portico rises the brick tower to the height of seventy feet. The remaining part of the tower is of wood, of three distinct stories, each surmounted by a balustrade. The first

of these stories contains the bell; is square, and finished with twelve columns, three at each angle. The second is an octagon, with sixteen columns, clustering so closely around it as to admit of no other ornament. The third is also an octagon, with a column at each angle; but the spaces between them are yet unoccupied by appropriate decorations. Upon the pedestals, corresponding to all the columns, are urns, or acorn-shaped balls, except over the group of sixteen, where two pedestals are with urns and two without, alternately. The appearance of the whole is incomplete, from not being finished with a lofty spire, but terminating in a low octagon, like the upright part of a drum light, crowned with urns surrounding the shaft, balls, and rod, common to most churches. The whole height to the vane is one hundred and sixty-five feet.

The inhabitants of Hartford are the only people in Connecticut, who have had sufficient wisdom and self-government to forbid by a public vote the erection of wooden houses within the compact part of their city, and to adhere, without murmuring, to their first vote on this subject. Posterity will have reason to remember this measure with gratitude.

The soil of the city is generally clay. A slight rain converts the streets into mud, and the wet season in the spring renders them, in some places, almost impassable. The principal streets, however, have, by the very commendable exertions of the inhabitants, been greatly improved. In dry weather the dust, formed of this clay, is so light as to rise with the slightest breeze, and often to cloud the atmosphere.

Gardens are made here with much difficulty. A dry season bakes the soil into clods; a wet season converts it into mortar. When the difficulties of cultivation are overcome, it is one of the richest in the world. The wells are brackish. Few places are, however, more healthy.

The commerce of this town has always been considerable; yet, as it is not a port of entry, the amount cannot be ascertained. Its inland trade is, I suspect, greater than that of New-Haven. Connecticut river, the channel of its foreign commerce, is embarassed by two serious inconveniences. It is frozen, annually, about three months, and is encumbered with shoals. By the latter of these inconveniences the inhabitants are not only compelled to make use of smaller vessels than they could wish, but are also obliged to send them out

partially loaded, and to complete their lading at New-London. To remedy this evil, a company has been formed, by the name of the Union Company, and in 1800 was incorporated, for the purpose of deepening the water of the river. They have already succeeded so far as to gain one additional foot of water in the channel, and have sanguine expectations of further success *. Their remuneration is to arise from a toll paid by all vessels which navigate the river. Their capital is 80,000 dollars.

The inhabitants, like those of most other commercial towns in America, are composed of descendants from the original settlers, and of others assembled from various parts of the country. In such a collection you would expect to find almost every species of the human character; and would, I presume, be rarely disappointed. A part of this aggregation will ever be vicious and ignorant; another part will be intelligent and virtuous. The morals and intelligence of Hartford are probably little, if at all inferior to those of any other town of the same size; and the best and largest class of its inhabitants are as respectable as any other equal collection in the state. For a series of years religion has prospered here to a great extent.

There is a bank in Hartford, with a capital of 1,000,000 dollars. There is also an insurance company, incorporated in October 1803, whose capital is 80,000 dollars †.

A handsome bridge is erected over Connecticut river, in the north part of this town, which is said to have cost 80,000 dollars. The capital of the bridge company, in 1812, was 96,089 dollars.

The Rev. Thomas Hooker, frequently styled "the Father of Connecticut," and "the Father of the Churches in Connecticut," was one of the first settlers and the first minister of this town. This gentleman was one of that small number of men, who are destined by Providence to have an important and benevolent influence on the affairs of mankind. He was born in England, at Marshfield, in the county of Leicester, A. D. 1586, and was educated at Emanuel college, Cambridge, of which he afterwards became a fellow. The general

* The depth has been increased within a short time.

† A new bank was established in this city, in the year 1814, named the Phœnix Bank, with a capital of 1,500,000 dollars. A fire insurance company was incorporated here, May 1810, with a capital of 50,000 dollars.

inducement to the colonization of New-England brought him to this country. At an early period he became pious, and exhibited that happy character through life, in a manner equally honourable to himself and useful to mankind. Naturally ardent, he acquired an unusual share of self-government; and to this attribute was, perhaps owing, as much as to any individual excellence of his character, his eminent usefulness to the world. It ran through all his public and private conduct. His theology and his sermons it chastened in such a manner as to secure him equally from laxness and enthusiasm. His discourses were warm, but not extravagant in thought or language; bold, but not violent. The living principle by which they were animated, never produced any thing prurient or deformed. His conversation was grave without austerity, and cheerful without levity. His deportment was dignified, but gentle; and commanding, while it was full of condescension. His affability invited all men to his side, and rendered them easy in his presence; while his exemplary charity made his house a constant resort of the poor and suffering. "In his prayers," says Dr. Trumbull, "a spirit of adoption seemed to rest upon him." "He was exceedingly prudent," says the same respectable writer, "in the management of church discipline. He esteemed it a necessary and important, but an extremely difficult part of duty. He rarely suffered church affairs to be publicly controverted. Before he brought any difficult matter before the church, special care was taken to converse with the leading men, to fix them right, and to prepare the minds of the members, so that they might be harmonious, and that there might be no controversy with respect to any point which he judged it expedient for the church to adopt."

This discreet character manifested itself strongly in all his conduct. On the affairs of the infant colony his influence was commanding. Little was done without his approbation; and almost every thing which he approved was done of course. The measures which were actually adopted under his influence were contrived and executed with so much felicity as to have sustained, with high reputation, the scrutiny of succeeding ages. Happily, he infused his own spirit, not only into his contemporaries, but into most of those who in succeeding generations have been entrusted with the public interests of this state. A distinguished share of the same moderation,

wisdom, and firmness, which adorned Mr. Hooker, has been conspicuous in the public measures of Connecticut, down to the present day. An equal degree of uniformity in public measures has not, so far as I know, existed in any country for the same length of time. Certainly there has been no such continued uniformity of wisdom and moderation; of measures cautiously adopted, and firmly maintained; of measures which rarely demanded to be retraced; on which party spirit had so little influence; or in which passion, or prejudice, was so little conspicuous. For this character the inhabitants of Connecticut are eminently indebted to the great and good man who is the subject of these remarks. If I may be allowed to give an opinion, he was the wisest of all those distinguished colonists, who had a peculiar influence on the early concerns of this country.

The following anecdote, transmitted among his descendants, is in several particulars strongly expressive of his character. In the latter part of autumn, Mr. Hooker, being suddenly awakened by an unusual noise, thought he heard a person in his cellar. He immediately arose, dressed himself, and went silently to the foot of the cellar stairs. There he saw a man, with a candle in his hand, taking pork out of the barrel. When he had taken out the last piece, Mr. Hooker, accosting him pleasantly, said, "Neighbour, you act unfairly; you ought to leave a part for me." Thunderstruck at being detected, especially at being detected by so awful a witness, the culprit fell at his feet, condemned himself for his wickedness, and implored his pardon. Mr. Hooker cheerfully forgave him, and concealed his crime, but forced him to carry half the pork to his own house.

In 1756, the township of Hartford contained 2,926 whites, and 101 blacks. In 1774, it contained 4,861 whites, and 150 blacks. At both these periods it included the township of East-Hartford. In 1790, Hartford contained 4,090, and East-Hartford 3,016. In 1800, these townships contained 8,404 inhabitants, of whom 270 were blacks. Hartford alone contained at this time 5,347 inhabitants, of whom 242 were blacks. In 1810, Hartford contained 6,003, and East-Hartford 3,240 souls.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XX.

Government of Connecticut. Duties and Privileges of Counties and of Towns.

DEAR SIR;

HARTFORD is the seat of government in this state. Here are kept the great public offices; and here is held annually what is termed the General Election. A writer, who claims the privilege of being occasionally desultory, may therefore, without any serious impropriety, introduce you here to some acquaintance with this government.

Connecticut, as I have already observed, is divided into eight counties, and these are subdivided into one hundred and nineteen townships. Each of these counties, and each of these townships, is an inferior republic; possessing, under the control of the legislature, the necessary powers to adjust all their local and peculiar concerns.

The townships also, when of sufficient size, are again divided into parishes; and the parishes into school districts, possessing similar powers for similar purposes.

The laws creating and defining the powers of counties, enable and require them to build and repair court-houses and gaols, at the common expense; to tax themselves for such expense, and also for that which is incurred by the escape of prisoners confined for debt, whenever such escape is attributable to the insufficiency of the gaol.

The assistants or councillors resident in the county, and the justices of the peace, assembled in a regular county meeting, summoned by the chief judge of the court of common pleas for the county, are the legislature, empowered and required to lay taxes for these purposes. The taxes are collected by county collectors, by warrant from the county treasurer, who, when it is necessary, enforces the collection.

A political theorist would object to the constitution of this legislature, because it is appointed by the state, and not chosen by the citizens. It is, however, a perfectly safe establishment. Whenever this body taxes the county, it taxes in the same manner its own members. The majority is always composed of respectable and worthy men; and an appeal lies from its proceedings to the state legislature; but no such appeal has, within my knowledge, ever been made.

The clerk of the court of common pleas is officially the recording, and the chief justice of that court officially the presiding officer of this body, whenever convened.

The escape of prisoners confined for debt induces no expense on the county, unless the gaol has been previously condemned as insufficient by the superior court. Whenever a prisoner has escaped, in such a case, the court of common pleas must estimate the expense, order payment out of the county treasury, and, together with the grand jurors present, lay a tax on the county to supply every deficiency.

Towns* are bodies politic for numerous and important purposes; every local interest of the inhabitants, common to them all, being regulated by their authority. The legislature consists of the legal inhabitants in lawful town-meeting assembled. The recording officer is the town clerk; and the presiding officer, or moderator, is chosen at every meeting by a majority of votes.

The executive power is lodged in the selectmen, joined in certain cases with the civil authority; *i. e.*, the assistants and justices of the peace residing in the town.

Inhabitance is gained by birth, a vote of the town, the consent of the selectmen and civil authority in public meeting assembled, or by being chosen into some public office.

The settled and approved inhabitants, together with all freemen belonging to the town, assembled in lawful town-meeting, have power to make such orders, rules, and constitutions as may concern the common welfare of the town. But no other person may vote in such meeting, on the penalty of two dollars

* In the use of the word "Town" here, and throughout all the following appeals to the laws of Connecticut and other states, I am obliged to adopt its legal meaning. In this it always denotes the aggregate of legal voters, comprised within the limits of a township, acting in their corporate capacity.

and fifty cents for every such offence. The rules are never to be of a criminal, but always of a merely prudential nature, and no penalty for a single breach of them is to exceed three dollars and thirty-four cents. The penalties incurred are to be collected by distress, granted by an assistant, or a justice of the peace.

In the month of December, annually, every town is to hold what may be styled its general town meeting, for the choice of all its officers. This meeting is to be holden on public notice, given by the select-men, or other authorized persons, and usually by a justice of the peace, in the first instance, after the incorporation of the town. At this meeting the inhabitants choose, not exceeding seven men, inhabitants, able, discreet, and of good conversation, to be select-men, or townsmen, to take care of the order and prudential affairs of the town; besides these, they also elect a town clerk, a town treasurer, constables, surveyors of highways, fence-viewers, listers, collectors of rates or taxes, leather sealers, grand jurors, tything-men, haywards, chimney viewers, gaugers, packers, sealers of weights and measures, key-keepers, and other ordinary town-officers.

The select-men are to see these officers sworn to perform their duty faithfully. Every town vote and act is formed by a majority of voters present in the meeting. When persons chosen into office refuse to serve, they are fined five dollars each, unless oppressed by the choice while others are unduly exempted, which is to be determined by an assistant, or justice of the peace. These fines are paid into the town-treasury. For every neglect of duty they are fined two dollars. On the refusal, death, or removal of a town-officer, a meeting is to be holden for the purpose of choosing another person into the office. Town clerks, for every neglect of duty, incur a fine of three dollars and thirty-four cents. The town-clerk is to keep the town records, and also records of the births, marriages, and deaths of persons within the town; to register every man's house and land, in a book kept for that purpose, and every deed of land lying within the town; nor is a deed, unregistered in the town-clerk's office, good against any other claimant except the grantor. This ought to be done on the day when the deed

is received. Every lease, also, for more than one year, is to be registered in the same office.

If any person interrupt or disturb the order, peace, and proceedings of any town-meeting (or indeed the meeting of any legal society), or hinder the choice of a moderator, or after the choice vilify the moderator, or speak without leave of the moderator, unless to ask liberty to speak, he forfeits eighty-four cents for each offence. If the offence be attended with some notorious breach of the peace, he shall be fined by an assistant, or justice of the peace (who are empowered to hear and determine the cause), not more than thirty-four dollars.

Every town is responsible for the tax laid upon it by the state, in proportion to its list. If such tax be not paid, the state treasurer, at the request of the select-men, is to issue his execution against any deficient collector for the balance unpaid. The select-men, upon the receipt of this execution, are to proceed against the deficient collector, and to pay the balance within four months. If the balance be not then paid, the treasurer is to issue his execution against the persons and estates of the select-men, and against the persons and estates of the rest of the inhabitants.

Towns are also invested with full power to prevent persons from entering their limits, who have recently come from places infected with contagious diseases, and to confine within such bounds as they judge proper all who have already entered under these circumstances.

The select-men are also empowered to examine on oath, persons suspected to have come from places where contagious sickness exists, or who are supposed to be infected, or to have goods in possession coming from infected places; and in case of their refusing to be thus examined, to confine them to such places as they shall judge proper.

Towns are also to provide for all sick soldiers, sailors, and marines, belonging to the army or navy of the United States, when sick, and othewise unprovided for, within their limits. In this case, however, as in that of providing for sick strangers, the expense is to be reimbursed from the public treasury.

Every town is required to support its own inhabitants, when

unable to support themselves, whether they reside within or without the limits of the town.

For this and the like purposes, the select-men, or the overseers of the poor where such officers are chosen, have full power to expend the town's property according to their discretion, for the support of the poor; seventeen dollars annually on each; and, with the advice of the civil authority, as much more as shall be judged necessary. Should there be no civil authority (a case which can hardly happen), the select-men are to act according to their best judgment.

Towns are required to make, and keep in repair, sufficient bridges and highways. If by means of defectiveness in either, life is lost, they are to pay to the surviving relations three hundred and thirty-four dollars, not as a compensation for the loss, but as a fine for their neglect. If loss of life, or other injury, be the consequence of the defect; or loss of lading, or of carriage, or of cattle, they are to pay double damages, as a compensation and a fine.

On complaint of defectiveness in bridges or roads, to an assistant or justice of the peace, he is to empower men by warrant to repair them, at the expense of the town.

If the town neglects to build bridges, or to make roads, or to repair them, the court of common pleas is to order them to be repaired, and to liquidate the expense on the inhabitants.

To supply the means of necessary town expenses, towns have power, in lawful town-meetings, to grant and levy taxes for all necessary town purposes. These are to be levied first on goods and chattels; if these are insufficient, or cannot be found, on land; and, if this is insufficient, on the person. All such taxes are to be collected within three years after they are granted.

Having recounted the duties, rights, and powers of towns, it will be proper for me to take notice also of their security against burthensome expenses, and other evils.

No inhabitant of another state can become an inhabitant of a town, unless in the manner already recited, or by being possessed in fee, while continuing there, of an estate, amounting in value to three hundred and thirty-four dollars.

No inhabitant of one town in the state can gain inhabitance in another, except by the means already mentioned, unless

possessed, during his residence in it, of a real estate in fee of one hundred dollars value; or unless he has for six years supported himself in it, and his family if he has one.

Inhabitants of other states, not so circumstanced, may be removed by a constable, on a warrant from the civil authority of the town, or from the select-men, or the majority of either. In this case, however, the expense of the removal is to be borne by the town.

The select-men may also warn all persons, not inhabitants of the state, to depart out of their respective towns; and, if they neglect to depart, they are fined one dollar and sixty-seven cents per week, during such neglect. If they are possessed of no property, and obstinately refuse to depart, they may be publicly whipped, not exceeding ten stripes. But persons who are apprentices, or servants bought for a time, are excepted.

Persons entertaining or hiring such as are not inhabitants, and refusing to give security to the acceptance of the civil authority and select-men, to save the town from expense for such persons, may be fined one dollar and sixty-seven cents per week, so long as they shall entertain them.

Every individual, bringing an indigent person into the state, and leaving him, shall forfeit sixty-seven dollars.

Whoever shall entertain a person, not an inhabitant of the state, fourteen days, and the person entertained shall in any case need relief, the entertainer shall be at the expense of such relief, unless he shall within the fourteen days notify the select-men. In this case, the expense is to be paid out of the public treasury by order of the governor and council, unless the person entertained have relations liable by law for his support. These expenses, if necessary, and so long as they shall be necessary, are paid out of the treasury of course, unless the person can be removed safely, and the town neglect to remove him. In this case the town becomes charged with the expense.

If a poor inhabitant do not educate his children to industry, and to some honest and profitable calling, or if he cannot, and do not, comfortably provide for them, or if any poor children live idly, or are exposed to want and distress, the select-men or overseers (where there are overseers) are empowered and

directed, with the consent of an assistant, or justice of the peace, to bind them out apprentices or servants, where they judge convenient; the boys until twenty-one, the girls until eighteen years of age.

If a select-man, or overseer, when required upon ten days' warning, refuse to give on oath before an assistant or justice of the peace a just account of town money expended for the relief of needy persons, casually resident, and to return what is unexpended for the purpose mentioned, and in his hands; he shall forthwith be committed to gaol at his own charge, until he shall render the account required.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXI.

Observations on the Constitution of Towns. Schools of Public Business. Their Measures; Sources of Political Knowledge, and Stability in the Government.

DEAR SIR;

IN my last Letter I gave you a summary view of the town and counties in this state; from which you will perceive, that they are both republics, subordinate to the state; and each town, in some respects, subordinate to the county in which it exists. It will be unnecessary for me to make any particular observations concerning the counties. The towns, you will perceive, have many peculiar interests of great importance; are required to perform many important duties; are invested with many valuable powers, rights, and privileges; and are protected from injustice and imposition in the enjoyment of their rights, and the performance of their duties.

The legislature of each town is, like that of Athens, composed of the inhabitants, personally present; a majority of whom decides every question. The proceedings of this legislature are all controlled by exact rules, and are under the direction of the proper officers. The confusion incident to popular meetings, and so often disgraceful to those of Athens and Rome, is effectually prevented.

To this state of things many causes contribute. The towns are all of a moderate size and population. The numbers assembled at any town meeting must therefore be always moderate. Of course the noisy, tumultuous proceedings, and rash measures, so generally found in great assemblies of men, are here unknown. The regulations also are marked with the strictest propriety. No person speaks without leave. The person who rises first speaks first; and no person interrupts him. The votes, and all the other proceedings, are con-

ducted with a very honourable decorum. The most powerful cause perhaps of all this propriety is to be found in the education and habits of the people, under the influence of which every person, after the meeting is adjourned, usually retires to his house; and riot, noise, and indecency, so common on similar occasions in other countries, are here unknown.

All the proceedings of these assemblies are also matters of record, and can be re-examined, complained of, and rectified, at any subsequent period.

Their measures affect only their own concerns. They will not injure themselves; they cannot injure others. No clashing can exist between the towns themselves, nor between any town and the public, for their proceedings are valid only by law; and, whenever they contravene it, are nothing.

By these local legislatures a multitude of important concerns are managed, too numerous and unwieldy to be adjusted by the legislature of the state, and far better known by those, who actually superintend them, than by any other persons. They have a deep interest in these concerns, and therefore will not neglect them; understand them perfectly, and will therefore regulate them wisely; are always present, and therefore can meet and act on every emergency.

In these little schools men commence their apprenticeship to public life, and learn to do public business. Here the young speaker makes his first essays; and here his talents are displayed, marked, and acknowledged. The aged and discreet here see with pleasure the promise of usefulness in the young, and fail not to reward with honourable testimonials every valuable effort of the rising generation. The questions agitated, though affecting only local concerns, and a moderate number of people, are still interesting, and often deeply. At times they furnish full scope for the genius, understanding, and eloquence, of any man; are ably discussed, and command profound attention. The sober, busy citizens of Connecticut are, however, very little inclined to commend, or even listen to, the eloquence which is intended merely for show. He, who would be heard with approbation, or mentioned with praise, must speak, only because there is occasion to speak; must speak with modesty, with brevity, to forward or improve the mea-

sures proposed, or those which he substitutes; and not to show that he can speak, however ingeniously.

The select-men, the proper town executive, are entrusted with powers, which at first sight may seem enormous. They are undoubtedly great, and the trust (the sphere of action being considered) is high; of course it ought always to be, and usually is committed to respectable citizens. But experience has abundantly proved, that these powers are entrusted with perfect safety, and incalculable advantage to the public. An instance, in which they have been abused, has hardly been known since the settlement of the state. Numerous and troublesome as their services are, these officers have in very few towns ever received any compensation, beside the consciousness of having been useful, and the esteem of their fellow citizens.

I have remarked above, that men learn to do public business by being conversant with the affairs of towns. You will remember, that every town annually elects a considerable number of officers. Even the humblest of these offices furnishes opportunities for information, and exercise for sagacity; and, collectively, they are suited to every age and capacity of man. Virtues are here tried, and talents occupied, in a manner safe alike to the employer and the agent. On the one hand the capacity for business is enlarged; and on the other the best proof is given, which can be given, of the proper preparatory qualifications for business of a superior and more extensive nature. In the closet no man ever becomes acquainted with either the concerns or the character of men, or with the manner in which business ought to be conducted. The general principles of political science a scholar may understand, equally with those of other sciences. But of business, which is necessarily done in detail, if done to any purpose, the mere scholar literally knows nothing. He may be able to write a good political book; but he cannot do political business, because he never has done it. A plain man, educated in the business of a town, will easily show him, that in knowledge of this kind he is an infant; and that, whatever may be his genius or his acquisitions,

At the same time, the business done here is so various, so

similar in many respects to that of a legislature; and so connected with the public police; it returns so often, occupies so many hands, and involves so many public offices, that the inhabitants become not a little versed in public affairs. Hence they are peculiarly qualified to judge of their nature. A republican government is founded on general opinion. It is, therefore, of the highest importance, that this opinion should be correct. No method hitherto adopted by mankind has been equally successful with this, in forming that opinion, and in fitting men to judge well concerning governmental measures. A large proportion of the citizens of this state have actually sustained one public office, and multitudes several, and have of course been personally concerned in transacting public business. Hence they have already known, by experience, the difficulties incident to public concerns; and are, in a degree superior to what is usually found elsewhere, prepared to form judicious opinions concerning the measures of the legislature. I have heard laws discussed by plain men with more good sense, than any mere scholar could have displayed on the same subjects. By these men they were canvassed as to their operation on the actual interests of themselves and others. By a scholar they would have been examined as to their accordance with preconceived general principles. The former were certain means of determining on the merits of a law; the latter, only probable, and very imperfect.

From these facts it arises, in no small measure, that the citizens of Connecticut have ever exhibited a peculiar skill and discretion, in both judging and acting, concerning public affairs. Every man who arrives at the higher offices of magistracy, serves, almost of course, an apprenticeship in the concerns of the town. Here his character is tried. If he acquires the general approbation, he is elected to the legislature. There he undergoes a new trial, and, if sufficiently approved, is in the end chosen by the freemen at large into the council. In this body, if his conduct is not materially altered, he is regularly placed by the same suffrage, until he declines an election, becomes disqualified by age, or dies. It may, I believe be truly said, that under no government are the incumbents of the higher offices equally secure of their places, as

under that of Connecticut; notwithstanding they are all annually elected by the voice of the freemen. In the eighteenth century three governors only vacated the chair by a deficiency of suffrages in their favour.

In several instances, powerful attacks have been made on men in high office, either by rivals or enemies. Almost every such attack, however, has been fruitless. So far as my information extends, such attacks have secured to the objects of them all their former friends, and gained them many more: and, instead of diminishing their reputation and influence, have increased both, beyond what they could otherwise have acquired.

Nor is this system of small efficacy on public happiness, as it furnishes the means of gratifying ambition. The offices are numerous. To the least of them some distinction is attached. When they are faithfully and prudently executed, some degree of esteem, the controlling object of most human labours, is regularly obtained. Men accustomed to move in a higher sphere will naturally smile at these remarks. But they smile without a warrant. The wish in a humble man, for a humble office, is just as rational as that, which prompts them to aim at the high employments of state. In the same circumstances they themselves would covet the same office. It is, however, sufficient for my purpose, that the facts are such as I have stated. These offices are actually coveted; and those, who obtain them, are actually gratified. No easier, no more effectual mode has ever been adopted in a free state, for quieting, in so many minds, a passion, which, to say the least, might otherwise seriously intrude upon the order and peace of the community.

I am; Sir, &c.

LETTER XXII.

Original Constitution of Connecticut. Observations on it, and on its Influence.

DEAR SIR;

THE foundation of the present government in this state was laid in the year 1639, by the free planters of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, convened at Hartford on the 16th of January. The constitution, formed by this body of men, in substance the same which now exists, they prefaced with a general declaration, that they then associated and conjoined themselves to be one public state, or commonwealth; and did for themselves and their successors, and such as should be adjoined to them at any time afterwards, enter into combination and confederation together, to maintain the liberty and purity of the Gospel, and the discipline of the churches, then practised among them; and in their civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees, as should be made conformably to the constitution then adopted.

In this constitution they established two houses of legislation: the council, to consist of the governor and at least six councillors; and the house of representatives, of four members from each of these three towns, and a proportional number from towns afterwards to be admitted into their body politic. These, in general court assembled, they declared to be in future the supreme power of the commonwealth; and invested them with the sole power of making laws or repealing them; of granting levies, admitting freemen, and disposing of lands, undisposed of, to towns or persons; to call courts, magistrates, and persons universally, into question for any misdemeanour; and to deal with them according to the nature of the offence; and also to deal in any other matter, that concerned the good

of the commonwealth, except election of magistrates, which was to be done by the whole body of freemen.

The governor and council were to be chosen by ballot; and might be elected by a plurality of votes. The governor must be a member of a church; and must have been a magistrate*. No person could be chosen governor more than once in two years†. No person could be chosen a councillor, who was not a freeman of the colony, and who had not been nominated either by the freemen or the legislature. Both the governor and the magistrates, previously to their entrance upon their offices, were to be publicly sworn before the legislature. The governor and four councillors made a quorum.

The towns were required to send their representatives, chosen semi-annually, to the legislature. The governor was authorised to summon them by writs, issued, ordinarily, at least one month before the session; but, on extraordinary occasions, within fourteen days. The representatives, thus chosen, were declared to be vested with the whole power of their constituents; were authorised to assemble as a separate body, to determine their own elections, and to fine any person, whether of their own body or not, for disorderly conduct in their presence.

If the governor, and a majority of the council, should upon any urgent occasion refuse to call the legislature; the freemen were to petition them to do it. If they still refused, the constables of the several towns were to convoke the legislature. The legislature, thus assembled, was to have the power to choose a moderator in the place of the governor; and, when thus formed, had all legislative authority. A majority of the representatives constituted a quorum.

No legislature could be adjourned, or dissolved, but by consent of a majority of the members present. In case of an equal vote in the council, the governor had a casting voice. The oaths to be taken by the governor and councillors were prescribed.

Such was in substance the political constitution of the colony,

* This rule in both respects is not considered as being legally obligatory. Yet no person has ever been elected governor, who had not these qualifications. 1810.

† This provision, happily, has long been obsolete.

of Connecticut in its infancy. On this singular instrument I will make a few summary remarks.

1. This constitution was actually formed and adopted by the freemen in person.

2. We find here a body of men, so jealous of their liberty as to provide against the encroachments of their government, by empowering constables to summon, in an extraordinary case, an entirely new and distinct body to legislate for them; yet so devoted to good order and stable government as to invest their public functionaries with all the powers of government, unencumbered with that train of scrupulous and useless provisions, which embarrass many modern American constitutions. These provisions, while they seem to be guards against the encroachments of power, and in some cases are really such, are in others mere nuisances. They hinder conscientious men from doing good in many cases, because that good is either really or apparently prevented by such provisions.

3. In one great particular, however, they left their scheme of government obviously defective; *viz.* the independence of their judiciary. Of this inestimable object they seem not to have thought. In truth, the subject was imperfectly understood at that time, even in Great Britain.

4. They did not encumber their constitution with a multiplicity of officers. A simple machine will work for many years: a complicated one will be out of order many times in a year. The council of appointment, in the constitution of New-York, will keep that state in turmoil as long as it lasts. These wise men left all subordinate regulations to the wisdom of their legislature, guided by experience, and bending to exigencies.

5. This constitution exhibits openly, and decisively, the importance of religion to public happiness. The happiness of Connecticut, extensively produced by this fundamental source, is a proof of the wisdom of this part of the transaction, which nothing can lessen.

6. This constitution is the substance of that which was conveyed by the charter, obtained April 20th, 1662, from king Charles II. It would be more proper to say, that the charter

assumed and ratified this constitution. It is, therefore, the constitution of the state of Connecticut at the present time*.

The observation of a single man will easily convince him, that the characteristical features of any body of men, living by themselves, and particularly united in their concerns, regularly descend through a long period to their posterity. The character of many towns and parishes in New-England, where every thing is progressive and changing, can now be traced with irresistible evidence to its first settlers. History in a more extensive and satisfactory manner evinces the same truth. The people of Connecticut are descended from ancestors distinguished for their wisdom and virtue; and owe, under God, to this fact, the prominent features of their character, and the great mass of their blessings.

I am, Sir, &c.

* In the year 1818, the state adopted a new constitution.—*Pub.*

LETTER XXIII.

Elections of Connecticut. Advantages of them. Inroads made on their Purity.

DEAR SIR;

THE freemen of Connecticut are all the natives and others, above twenty-one years of age, who possess a freehold estate of annual rent value seven dollars, or a personal estate of one hundred and thirty-four dollars, on the grand list; who sustain a fair moral character; who are approved of the selectmen, and who have taken the oath of a freeman. By these men the governor, lieutenant-governor, council, treasurer, secretary of state, and the house of representatives, are elected.

The constables of the several towns are required to warn all the freemen to meet on the third Monday of September, annually, in their several towns, at nine o'clock A. M., at the place where in each town their representatives are customarily chosen. At that time and place the freemen, according to their warning, choose by ballot their representatives to attend the legislature, or general assembly, to be holden in the city of New-Haven on the second Thursday of the ensuing October.

At the same time and place they vote, also, for twenty persons as a nomination for the council of the ensuing year. Until October, in the year 1801, the name of each person nominated was by those, who voted for him, put into the boxes, fairly written. Since that time the mode of voting has been this: any freeman nominates any person whom he pleases. This nomination is announced by the presiding magistrate, and those who choose to vote for the person nominated rise up. Their number is then audibly declared by persons appointed by the presiding officer to count them, and repeated and written down

by the presiding officer. When the business is ended, the number in each case is summed up, and publicly announced from the chair. These votes are, in every case, transmitted to the secretary of state in a certificate, subscribed by the presiding magistrate, a copy of which is lodged in the town clerk's office in each town. Every freeman has a right to vote for any twenty men, freemen of the state, according to his discretion. No debate is permitted in a freeman's meeting, unless the right of some person present to vote is questioned. Every case of this nature is, for the time, to be determined by the presiding officer. All the business of the meeting, as to its nature and the manner of proceeding, and the law which regulates it, is in every instance publicly declared by this officer.

At the same time and place, the representatives of the state in congress are chosen, once in two years, in a manner to be described hereafter.

At the ensuing assembly the votes for the nomination are summed up by a committee, appointed by the legislature for that purpose. The names of the twenty persons, who have the greatest number of votes, are then printed by legislative authority, and a list, containing these names, is by the secretary transmitted to each town in the state. Out of this nomination twelve persons are to be chosen, in the manner hereafter mentioned, on the Monday succeeding the first Tuesday of April, to be councillors (or assistants to the governor in council) through the ensuing year.

On the Monday of April above mentioned, the freemen are warned to assemble, as in September. At this meeting the oath of a freeman is to be publicly read by the presiding magistrate, or by some person appointed by him. At both these freemen's meetings such persons as possess the legal qualifications, and are approved by the select-men, are admitted, by taking this oath, into the number of freemen.

The freemen then bring in to the presiding magistrate, successively, votes for their representatives.

After this business is ended, they in the same manner bring in their votes for a governor and then for a lieutenant-governor. The names of all these officers, and also of the treasurer and secretary, are to be fairly written. The two last mentioned officers are chosen after the councillors.

When the lieutenant-governor has been voted for, the presiding magistrate reads the nomination publicly, in which those who have already been councillors, are always arranged according to their seniority of office. He then calls for the votes for the first person on the nomination, and successively for all the other persons, whose names are on the list. These votes may be any pieces of written or printed paper. Every freeman present votes, if he pleases, for twelve out of the twenty. The twelve men, who have the greatest number of votes, are councillors for the year. The votes are transmitted to the secretary, and counted by a committee of the legislature, in the order in which they were taken, on the second Thursday of May, annually.

No judge of the supreme court can hold the office of governor, lieutenant-governor, assistant, representative in the state legislature, or senator or representative in congress, unless he first resign the office of judge.

Persons, disqualified for holding a seat in congress, are also disqualified for holding a seat in the state legislature.

No person, while a member of congress, can be a member of the state legislature.

Unqualified persons, who vote at the election of public officers, are for each offence fined seventeen dollars.

Persons, who give more than one vote for one candidate, forfeit the same sum.

Persons, who attempt unduly to influence others to vote for a representative, either by persuasion, or by offering them votes, forfeit to the town, where the offence is committed, seven dollars for each offence.

Persons promising, offering, accepting, or receiving, any reward, either pecuniary or honorary, for voting at the election of representatives, forfeit seventeen dollars for the first offence, and for the second are disfranchised.

A representative, elected by such undue means, is incapable of serving, unless he can prove them to have been used without his privity.

Representatives in congress are nominated and chosen in the same manner as councillors. The nomination is formed at the freemen's meeting in the April preceding the dissolution of the existing congress, and transmitted to the legislature at

their ensuing session in May. The eighteen persons, who have the greatest number of votes, are then, upon a list printed by legislative authority, transmitted to the several towns. Out of this list seven are chosen for the next congress at the freemen's meeting in the ensuing September.

Among the advantages of this mode of election the following deserves particular notice.

By the nomination of the preceding autumn the votes of the freemen are confined to a small number of candidates. Of course, so great a number of votes will always be obtained for the persons elected, as to make the plurality amount either to a majority, or a number very near it.

These candidates are pointed out in a happy and satisfactory manner, to wit, by the general choice of the community.

The persons nominated are held up for seven months to the inspection and inquiries of their fellow citizens. In a community so small and so intelligent as that of Connecticut it is impossible, that within this time their character should be unknown, even if we should suppose, what however has never happened, that it was not extensively known before. On that character their election absolutely depends. In some ferment, and during the operation of some public passion, men may be anywhere successfully misrepresented, and their character misconceived. Feelings of this nature can scarcely fail to cool within the period assigned, or the sober judgment of the community to direct the choice. In the other American states no such nomination exists, and the elections are, of course, almost always determined by the zeal of the moment, or, what is perhaps more unhappy, nominations are made out by clubs and caucuses*, who thus dictate the choice of the community.

Every election, except of representatives to the state legislature, is extended through the state. In most of the other states it is confined to given districts; these districts are so small as to be within the reach of one man's influence, and to be capable of high excitement on a sudden occasion. Hence there is generally little stability, prudence, or principle, in their elections, even where those, who choose, may in considerable numbers be men of principle and stability. The business is

* A cant word, denoting a private meeting for political intrigue.

ordinarily started by ambition and cunning, and carried on with haste and passion. Men of worth, in every such case, vote, not for the objects of their choice, but for the best, whom they suppose capable of being chosen, or, perhaps more properly, for those from whom they expect the least mischief. In Connecticut, the election being universal, no individual can extend his influence beyond moderate limits. The state, though small, is altogether too large to admit the existence of such a fact. This being well known, the attempt has rarely been made, and when made has never been successful. There has not been a single instance in which a demagogue has succeeded in attempting to obtain any given office, unless, perhaps, that of representative to the state legislature. A town may have been sometimes moved to choose a man of this character; the state never.

In consequence of this extension, men of decided respectability have been regularly chosen, both as councillors and as members of congress. No state has been better represented than this, either in the house of representatives or in the senate of the United States. The persons elected in Connecticut are chosen wherever they can be found, though not without a liberal and prudent reference to local position. This consideration is, however, always sacrificed to the character of the man. As an example it may be observed, that at the present time the lieutenant-governor and one of the members of the council are inhabitants of Lyme; two of the members of congress, of East-Haddam; two councillors and one senator, of Middletown; the chief justice of the state, of Wethersfield; the other senator, two councillors, and one judge of the supreme court, of Hartford, all on Connecticut river; the extremes only forty miles apart; twelve out of thirty-two, the whole number of persons chosen to high offices by the people of this state, except the treasurer and secretary, who, of course, reside in Hartford. Four towns, therefore, contain this proportion out of one hundred and nineteen.

The arrangement of the names of the councillors according to seniority of office furnishes a strong security for their continuance in their stations, and ensures to the state the benefits of their experience. Few voters will pass by the senior councillors, unless they have been convicted of plain mal-conduct. Accordingly, they continue in office until they resign or die.

Another happy circumstance, attending this subject, is, that the representatives to the state legislature are first voted for. The zeal and party-feeling, so commonly found in free states, are, whenever they exist, usually spent in contesting their election. Hence the ignoaant, idle, and light-minded citizens, when they have gained or lost this election, are prepared to leave the house. The sober and intelligent, on the contrary, the men whose minds extend so far as to comprehend the public weal, and whose hearts are engaged to promote it, continue on the spot until the great officers of the state are elected. These, therefore, are literally representatives of the wisdom and worth of the community.

As a consequence of this long continuance in public office, it ought to be added, that the state acquires the strength of personal attachment, as an aid to the other bonds of society, and the other means of supporting government. Affection has for its proper object intelligent beings. The fewer these are, and the longer they are regarded with affection, the more intense and riveted the affection becomes. The great officers of this state are few, and their continuance in office is usually long*.

* The following lists of the governors and judges of Connecticut will show the habits of the people, and the permanence of office. Both classes of officers were chosen annually, the former by the people, the latter by the legislature.

GOVERNORS OF CONNECTICUT.

Accessus.		Exitus.
1665	John Winthrop	1676
1676	William Leet	1683
1683	Robert Treat	1698
1698	John Winthrop	1707
1708	Gurdon Saltonstall	1724
1725	Joseph Talcott	1741
1742	Jonathan Law	1751
1751	Roger Wolcott	1754
1754	Thomas Fitch	1766
1766	William Pitkin	1769
1769	Jonathan Trumbull	1784
1784	Matthew Griswold	1786
1786	Samuel Huntington	1795
1796	Oliver Wolcott	1798
1798	Jonathan Trumbull	1809
1809	John Treadwell	1811
1811	Roger Griswold	1812
1813	John Cotton Smith	1817
1817	Oliver Wolcott.	

Hence they are customarily regarded by their fellow citizens with no small degree of respect and personal attachment.

JUDGES OF THE SUPERIOR COURT IN CONNECTICUT,

FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN THE YEAR 1711.

When chosen.	Judges.	Exit.
1711	Gurdon Saltonstall	1712
	William Pitkin	1713
	Richard Christophers	1721
	Peter Burr	1717
	Samuel Eels	1740
1712	Nathan Gold, Chief Justice	1713
1713	William Pitkin, Chief Justice	1714
	John Haynes	1714
1714	Nathan Gold	1722
	William Pitkin	1715
1715	Jonathan Law	1716
1716	John Hamlin	1722
1717	Jonathan Law	1725
1721	Joseph Talcott	1722
1722	Nathan Gold, Chief Justice	1723
	Peter Burr	1723
1723	Peter Burr, Chief Justice	1725
	Matthew Allyn	1732
	John Hooker	1732
1725	Jonathan Law, Chief Justice	1741
From this time till 1785, the Lieutenant-Governor was *ex officio* Chief Judge.		
	James Wadsworth	1752
1732	Roger Wolcott	1741
	Joseph Whiting	1745
1740	Elisha Williams	1743
1741	Roger Wolcott, Chief Justice	1750
	William Pitkin	1754
1743	Ebenezer Silliman	1766
1745	John Bulkley	1753
1750	Thomas Fitch, Chief Justice	1754
1752	Samuel Lynde	1755
1753	Daniel Edwards	1754
1754	William Pitkin, Chief Justice	1766
	Jonathan Trumbull	1755
	Roger Wolcott, jun.	1759
1754	Joseph Fowler	1760
1756	Daniel Edwards	1765
1759	Benjamin Hall	1766
1760	Robert Walker	1772
1765	Matthew Griswold	1769

Government, in their hands, is felt to be the government of friends, and the attachment to the men is naturally associated with their measures.

When chosen.	Judges.	Exit.
1766	Jonathan Trumbull, Chief Justice	1769
	Eliphalet Dyer	1789
	Roger Sherman	1789
1769	Matthew Griswold, Chief Justice	1784
	William Pitkin	1789
1772	William Samuel Johnson	1774
1774	Samuel Huntington	1784
1784	Samuel Huntington, Chief Justice	1785
	Richard Law	1785
1785	Richard Law, Chief Justice	1789
	Oliver Ellsworth	1789
1789	Andrew Adams	1798
	Jesse Root	1798
	Charles Chauncey	1793
	Eliphalet Dyer, Chief Justice	1793
	Erastus Wolcott	1792
1792	Jonathan Sturges	1805
1793	Andrew Adams, Chief Justice	1797
	Benjamin Huntington	1798
	Asher Miller	1795
1795	Stephen Mix Mitchell	1807
1798	Jesse Root, Chief Justice	1807
	Jonathan Ingersoll	1801
	Tapping Reeve	1814
1801	Zephaniah Swift	1815
	John Trumbull	1819
1805	William Edmund	1819
1806	Nathaniel Smith	1819
	Jeremiah Gates Brainerd.	
	Simeon Baldwin	1818
1807	Stephen Mix Mitchell, Chief Justice	1814
	Roger Griswold	1809
1809	John Cotton Smith	1811
1811	Jonathan Ingersoll	1816
1814	Tapping Reeve, Chief Justice	1815
1815	Zephaniah Swift, Chief Justice	1819
	Calvin Goddard	1818
	Stephen Titus Hosmer	1819
1816	James Gould	1819
1818	John Thompson Peters.	
	Asa Chapman.	
1819	Stephen Titus Hosmer, Chief Justice.	
	William Bristol.	

The whole force of this affection does not, I confess, exist even here. For its entire efficacy we must look to a monarchy, army, or navy. The ruler here, being a single object, concentres the whole regard of the mind; and, if an amiable and worthy man, faithfully and wisely discharging the duties of his office, may exert an influence over those whom he governs, next to magical. Of the benefits to which this powerful principle gives birth, free governments ought in every safe way to avail themselves. A doctrine, a constitution, or even an abtract term, may serve as a watch-word of party, a torch of enthusiasm, or an idol of occasional ardour. But there is no permanent earthly object of affection, except man; and, without such affection, there is reason to fear, that no free government can long exist in safety and peace.

It would seem, that the laws of this state furnish sufficient security against undue practices at elections. This opinion I formerly adopted with scarcely a doubt. During the first century and a half from its settlement, attempts to influence the suffrages of its citizens were nearly unknown. No man was proposed as a candidate for public office either by himself or his friends. An attempt to procure suffrages would have ruined the solicitor. The conduct of a candidate was the foundation of all his hopes; and his only art of electioneering was, to exhibit talents and worth, in discharging the duties of life.

The freemen then assembled at the election with the same regularity, decency, and quiet, as for public worship. In April, their business was introduced with the regular service of the sabbath, and in September with prayer, made by a clergyman, and was continued and ended with a decorum highly honourable to the community. Influence, bribes, and promises were unheard of.

This happy character lasted without a change until after the commencement of the French revolution. Since that time formidable efforts have been made to destroy the system. Since that time many persons have been made freemen, who have neither the property nor the moral character required by law. Tickets also, containing the names of proposed candidates, have been printed and circulated.

Efforts of this nature cannot be long continued without some effect. Here their influence has been small, yet it has been something, and something certainly to be both lamented and dreaded. In such a state of society as this, every innovation ought to be watched with jealousy.

I will only add, that senators in congress are chosen by the legislature; that, when a senator's place is vacant during the recess of the legislature, the vacancy, to the next session, is filled by the governor and council; and that, when the place of a representative is thus vacant, writs are issued by the governor for a new choice out of the existing nomination. A nomination is always in being until the succeeding one is made.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXIV.

General Election of Connecticut.

DEAR SIR;

HAVING finished the account which I proposed to give you, of the manner in which the great officers of this state are chosen, I will now describe the proceedings at what is called the General Election, holden annually in the city of Hartford, on the second Thursday of May.

On the afternoon of the preceding day, the governor of the past year, if not an inhabitant of Hartford, is met at the distance of several miles from the town by a company of dragoons, and by a body of the most respectable inhabitants, and is escorted to his lodgings in a handsome style of parade. He is accompanied, of course, by the sheriff of the county.

The morning of the election day is ushered in by the ringing of bells, and the firing of cannon. At nine o'clock the representatives assemble, exhibit their certificates of election, and form themselves into a house, by choosing their speaker and clerks. As soon as this process is finished, they notify their proceedings to the governor, and inform him that they are ready to attend the religious solemnities of the day. These are always celebrated in the first church. A procession is then marshalled at the state-house. The governor's foot-guards precede, and the horse-guards accompany the procession. To them succeed the sheriffs of the state, with their white staves, who are followed by the governor and lieutenant-governor, the council and representatives. After the representatives walk the preacher of the day and the preacher of the succeeding year; and a numerous body of the clergy, usually more than one hundred, close the procession. The main-street, and the windows and doors of the houses on both

sides, are occupied, in the mean time, by several thousand spectators, collected from all parts of the state; among whom there is rarely one who is not perfectly decorous. I have often been present, and do not remember that I ever saw an individual intoxicated, or quarrelling; or that I ever heard a profane or indecent word, or even noisy conversation. It is hardly necessary to observe, that the church is crowded, and the exercises solemn and interesting. When they are ended, the procession is renewed, and returns to the state-house. A joint committee of the legislature then proceeds to count the votes for the governor and council, treasurer and secretary of the succeeding year. After the votes are counted, the governor receives a military salute from the guards.

A public dinner is then given to the governor and council, the speaker, clerks, and committee of the house of representatives, to which a number of respectable strangers are usually invited. At this entertainment the preacher of the day and his successor are present.

A public dinner is also given regularly by the state to the clergy, who are present at the election.

No public national solemnities, of which I have heard or read, can be compared with these for decorum. None are so productive of rational pleasure and real advantage to the community; and none are so free from that debasing licentiousness, which embitters, to a virtuous man, almost all those of other countries.

An intelligent stranger is equally surprised and delighted to see, among such a multitude of spectators, so few persons who are not well dressed, and who do not exhibit the strictest propriety of manners and morals. One of the judges of the supreme court of the United States was present, a number of years since, at this election. As he was conversing with the governor, he said, "Pray, Sir, where are your rabble?" "You see them around you, Sir," said the governor. "Rabble, Sir," said the judge, "I see none but gentlemen and ladies." "We have no other rabble," said the governor, "but such as you see." "You astonish me," replied he. "Why, Sir, when General Washington took the oath of office in the balcony of the assembly-house in Philadelphia, the chief

justice, who administered it, could scarcely be heard at the distance of ten feet, on account of the noise and tumult of the yard below. Among the thousands who are present, I do not discover an indecorum. These your only rabble, Sir! Well, I will say, that the inhabitants of Connecticut are the only people within my knowledge who understand the nature of an elective government."

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXV.

Legislature of Connecticut.

DEAR SIR;

I WILL now proceed in my general design; and exhibit to you the extent and division of power in the different branches of the government of this state.

The legislature is formed of two houses, the council and representatives, customarily called the Upper and Lower Houses. The Upper House consists of the governor, lieutenant-governor, and twelve councillors; the Lower House of two hundred and two* representatives; of which eighty-three towns are empowered by law to choose two; the rest, one.

The power of the legislature is considered as unlimited, except with respect to the rights of election, and the substance of the form of government. It is difficult to say, with precision, what are the exact bounds of their authority, even here. The limitations prescribed in the original constitution, and afterwards established, with some variety of modification, in the charter, are esteemed so sacred, that any material alteration of them would be hazardous, and probably pronounced usurpation. They have thought proper, also, expressly to limit themselves in one particular. They have declared, in the preface to their volume of laws, that if any law of the state shall be found to contradict the law of God, it shall be null and void of course †.

In all other respects they may adopt any legislative measures which they think advantageous to the community.

* By the creation of new towns, the number of representatives is increased.—*Pub.*

† This declaration, unhappily in my opinion, is left out of the two last editions of the laws.

The governor is, by his office, president of the council. The governor, or if he be absent the lieutenant-governor, or in his absence the senior councillor, and six other members, constitute a quorum. A quorum of the house of representatives is formed of forty members. The house is the sole judge of the qualifications of its members. Any act, not excepting those which grant money, may be originated in either house. You will remember, that both houses are equally representatives of the people.

The general assembly have power, among other things, to choose, in case of death or other vacancy, the governor, or lieutenant-governor, assistants, or any other officers; to grant pardons and reprieves; and to hold their sessions, until they consent to be prorogued or dissolved.

On emergencies, the governor is empowered to call special assemblies upon fourteen days' warning, or less if he see it needful, provided he give an account thereof to the assembly when they shall have met together.

Every member, while at the assembly, or while going or returning, is secured from arrests, except for high treason or felony.

When an injunction of secrecy has been voted, if any member shall disclose the subject of the secrecy, or shall make known what any member utters in the assembly, concerning any person or business then before the assembly, he is to forfeit thirty-four dollars.

During the prevalence of pestilential fevers, or other highly inconvenient cases, the governor may convene the general assembly in other places beside Hartford and New-Haven; and they have power to adjourn their own sessions to any town in the state.

The speaker has a casting voice.

The lieutenant-governor has all the powers of the governor, in case of his death or absence.

The business of both houses is regularly introduced every morning with prayer. Every session is opened and closed with prayer.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXVI.

Judicial Courts of Connecticut.

DEAR SIR;

THE judicial courts in this state are those of justices of the peace, the courts of common pleas, circuit courts *, and a supreme court of errors. To these may be added courts of probate, and the legislature.

Justices of the peace have cognizance of all causes in which the title of land is not concerned, and the demand does not exceed fifteen dollars; and any action on bond or note, for the payment of money, witnessed by two witnesses, when the sum demanded does not exceed thirty-five dollars, may be heard and determined by a single justice. A justice of the peace may also try any matter of a criminal nature, where the penalty does not exceed seven dollars. The governor, lieutenant-governor, councillors, and judges of the supreme court, are *ex officio* justices of the peace throughout the state.

Debts may be confessed before a justice, and judgment rendered thereon, provided debt and costs do not exceed seventy dollars.

Generally, justices of the peace have in substance the same powers which they possess in Great Britain.

From justices' courts appeals are made to the court of common pleas, when the sum in question exceeds seven dollars, except in actions on a note or bond, witnessed by two witnesses, for a sum not exceeding thirty-five dollars.

There are eight courts of common pleas, one for each county in this state, formed in each case by a judge and four,

* Commonly styled superior courts.

assistant justices, called in the common language judges also, and in that of the law justices of the quorum. The number is not limited to four, but this is the number actually appointed. Any three of these have power to hold a court. If there are not three present, a justice of the peace is called to the bench by the judge.

The court of common pleas is empowered to hear and determine all civil causes, real, personal, and mixed; and all criminal causes, except those extending to life, limb, or banishment, adultery or divorce, or where the penalty does not extend to confinement in Newgate. Horse-stealing, for which the thief is sentenced to Newgate, may be tried before this court.

The court of common pleas is also a court of chancery, in cases where the matter or thing in demand does not exceed three hundred and thirty-five dollars.

There are at least two stated courts of common pleas holden in each county annually; and in four of the counties, three stated, and usually one adjourned, courts.

Circuit courts are formed by three judges of the supreme court.

The state is divided into three circuits: one consisting of the counties of Hartford, New-Haven, and Middlesex; another, of the counties of Fairfield and Litchfield; and another, of the counties of New-London, Windham, and Tolland.

There are two circuit courts holden in each county annually.

If any judge is absent, an assistant may be called to the bench.

The circuit court has cognizance of all pleas of a criminal nature, that relate to life, limb, or banishment, and other high crimes and misdemeanors, of divorce, of adultery, and of horse-stealing; and of all actions, real, personal, or mixed; in civil causes, brought before them by appeal from the court of common pleas, or writ of error, scire facias, complaint, or otherwise.

The circuit court is also a court of chancery, in any case in equity, where the matter or thing in demand exceeds three hundred and thirty-five dollars.

The supreme court is formed by nine judges, the chief justice of the state, and eight assistants.

This court is the dernier resort in all matters brought by way of error or complaint, from the judgments or decrees of any circuit court, in matters of law or equity, wherein the rules of law or principles of equity appear from the files, records, or exhibits of said court to have been erroneously or mistakingly adjudged or determined. Their determinations and decrees are conclusive on all concerned.

The supreme court sits annually on the first Tuesday of June, and on the first Tuesday of November, at Hartford and New-Haven alternately.

The secretary of state is, *ex officio*, the clerk of this court. All other courts appoint their own clerks.

It is the duty of this court to cause the reasons of their judgment to be committed to writing, signed by one of the judges*, and to be lodged in the office of their clerk.

Five judges form a quorum. When the number of judges present is not sufficient, the place is supplied by a councillor or councillors.

A judge is not disqualified to give his voice, in any case, because he has given it in the same case in the circuit court.

Judges of the supreme court are empowered to institute such rules of practice for the regulation of this court and the circuit courts, as they shall deem most conducive to the administration of justice.

The legislature has a concurrent jurisdiction, as a court of chancery, in all causes where the demand exceeds five thousand three hundred and thirty-four dollars.

The legislature also determines causes of divorce, where the application is not founded on an existing statute.

Courts of probate are formed by one judge in each district, and have cognizance of the probate of wills and testaments, granting administration, appointing and allowing of guardians, and of acting in all testamentary and probate matters, and in every other thing proper for a court of probate to act in according to law.

* These reasons are now by statute to be delivered orally in court.

There are thirty probate districts in this state.

Courts of probate may be holden in any town within the district.

In any difficult case, the judge of probate may call to his assistance two or three justices of the quorum for the county in which the subject of dispute arises. Appeals from the decision of this judge lie to the circuit court.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXVII.

Penal System of Connecticut. Newgate Prison.

DEAR SIR;

THE penal justice of every country is a subject naturally interesting, and can scarcely fail of being instructive to an inquisitive man. The penal system of Great Britain is, I believe, singular. In that country there are, if I mistake not, one hundred and seventy-six different sorts of human actions, which may be punished with death. It is true, that few of these actions receive this punishment of course; and most of them, only when attended with some aggravating circumstances. Still to the inhabitants of New-England the system wears a sanguinary aspect. Indeed, it is questionable, if this system were now to be begun, whether it could be rendered acceptable to the people of Great Britain. I am far from charging the multiplicity of capital punishments, which exist in England, either wholly, or chiefly, to this cause; for I well know, that in Scotland, where the same system operates, such punishments are very rare. Yet I am persuaded, that the uncertainty, which an individual will feel under this system, concerning the degree of punishment to be actually inflicted on a crime, which he has thoughts of perpetrating, will always be construed favourably for himself; for he will always intend, that his own crimes shall be accompanied by the fewest and least aggravations. No consideration will have a less happy efficacy to deter from villainy than this.

In New-England a different system has always prevailed. In the original jurisprudence of Connecticut, worshipping false gods; witchcraft; blasphemy; murder; bestiality; sodomy; adultery, where one of the parties was a married woman; man-stealing; perjury, with design to take away a man's life;

conspiracy; invasion; insurrection or public rebellion against the government; cursing or smiting father or mother, unless where the child had been grossly neglected in his education, or provoked by cruelty, or forced to strike in self-defence; filial stubbornness and rebellion, after all proper pains on the part of the parents to overcome it; and rape; were punished with death. In this list seventeen different sorts of human actions are made capital.

At the present time, murder; arson, where life is lost or endangered; bestiality; sodomy, unless one of the parties is under fifteen years of age; perjury, with a design to take away life; burning a public magazine; destroying or attempting to destroy a public vessel with hazard of life; voluntarily delivering up a public vessel, in time of war, to the enemies of the United States; disabling the tongue; voluntarily making a person blind; treason; and rape; are made capital by the laws of this state. The number of actions thus punishable is here made twelve.

Manslaughter is punished by forfeiture of goods and chattels, whipping, branding with the letter M on the hand, and perpetual disability to give any verdict or evidence. Blasphemy is punished by whipping, not exceeding forty stripes, and by sitting in the pillory. Atheism and Deism for the first offence by incapacity, or forfeiture of any public employment; for the second offence, by disability to sue, or be sued, or maintain any action in any court, or be guardian of any child, executor of any will, or administrator of any estate. Information must, in this case, be given within six months. Burglary, robbery, counterfeiting, uttering counterfeit bills or coins, forgery, uttering forged instruments, and horse-stealing, are punished by imprisonment in Newgate, for the first offence not exceeding three years, for the second not exceeding six, and for the third during life. If burglary or robbery be committed with personal abuse or violence, or by a person armed with dangerous weapons, so as to indicate violent intentions, the criminal is for the first offence confined in Newgate during life. Perjury, and subornation of perjury, without a design to take away life, is punished with a fine of sixty-seven dollars, and six months imprisonment in Newgate. Forgers pay double da-

mages, and are made incapable of giving evidence, or verdict, within the state. Arson, without loss or hazard of life, is punished for the first offence with confinement in Newgate, not exceeding seven years. If females are convicted of any of these crimes, instead of being sent to Newgate, they are confined in the county workhouse with none but females; or, as the case may be, in the county gaol. A violent attempt to commit a rape is punished with confinement in Newgate during life. Theft is punished by fine, not exceeding seven dollars, and forfeiture of treble damages; and if unable, or refusing to pay the fine, the thief shall be whipped*, not exceeding ten stripes; and if unable to pay the damages, shall make satisfaction by personal service. Receiving stolen goods is punished in the same manner. Persons exhibiting any theatrical performances, or aiding therein, pay for each offence a fine of fifty dollars. Persons unlicensed for selling strong liquor of any kind forfeit ten dollars for the first offence, twenty for the second, forty for the third, and so on in a geometrical progression. Adultery with a married woman is punished in both parties by whipping, branding the letter A on the forehead, and wearing a halter about the neck on the outside of their garments, during their abode in the state; and if found without, they are to be publicly whipped, not exceeding thirty stripes.

Divorces may be granted for adultery, fraudulent contract, wilful desertion for three years with total neglect of duty, or seven years absence of one party, not heard of. Persons petitioning for a divorce must have resided three years within the state. Bigamy is punished in the same manner as adultery. Men wearing women's apparel, and women wearing

* It is high time that whipping, cropping, and branding, these barbarous remains of savage antiquity, were banished from the penal code of every Christian nation. More absurd punishments can scarcely be devised. They outrage all the feelings even of vulgar humanity. Both the shame and the pain, which punishment is intended to inflict, may be easily compassed in many modes which are unexceptionable. These place the criminal, often not a very hardened one, without the limits of character, and beyond the wish as well as the hope of reformation. Thus they are only a circuitous mode of consigning him to Newgate or the gallows.

men's apparel are fined, not exceeding seventeen dollars. Marriages, to be lawful, must be proclaimed in a church before a religious assembly in the town, parish, or society, where both the parties reside; or be publicly advertised in writing on or near the door of the church, for eight days before the rite is performed. Assistants, justices, and ordained ministers only can join persons in marriage; and that only in the counties where they respectively dwell. If magistrates or ministers join in marriage persons whose intention of marriage has not thus been published, or who, if minors, have not attained the consent of their parents or guardians, they forfeit for each offence sixty-seven dollars.

Challenging, or accepting of a challenge to fight a duel with any dangerous weapon, is punished with a forfeiture of three thousand dollars, finding sufficient sureties for good behaviour during life, and perpetual disability to hold any office of profit or honour under the state. Persons convicted, and unable or neglecting to pay the said forfeiture, are to be closely imprisoned for the term of one full year. Persons knowingly carrying or delivering any written challenge, or verbally delivering any message meant as a challenge, or being present at any duel as seconds, or aids, or giving countenance thereto, suffer the same forfeitures and disabilities, but are not obliged to find sureties for their good behaviour.

In any case of horse-racing, where any bet or wager is laid, the horses employed, and the purse or stakes made, are forfeited; and may be seized at any time within six months after, if found in the town in which the race was run. The persons betting, or concerned in making up a purse for such a race, forfeit fifty dollars. A person who shall be a stake-holder of money, or any other stake, or print, or cause to be printed, any paper, advertising any horse-race, or be the rider of any horse in any such horse-race, forfeit thirty dollars.

Persons prosecuted for writing or publishing any libel are permitted in their defence to give in evidence the truth of the matters contained in the publication charged as a libel.

It will be unnecessary for me to extend this recital any farther. The account of crimes and punishments, which I have

already given you, will sufficiently exhibit to you the views entertained by the inhabitants of Connecticut concerning this interesting branch of jurisprudence. There is, however, one important subject, frequently mentioned in this account, which demands explanation. This is Newgate prison; confinement in which is made the punishment of crimes, immediately below such as are capital.

Newgate prison is the public gaol and workhouse of the state. It is situated in the township of Granby, on the range of Mount Tom, about twelve or fourteen miles from Hartford. It is composed of two parts; a cavern and a building on its mouth. The cavern is the work of human industry, employed in collecting copper ore; and was dug and blown out many years since. All the healthy prisoners among the gross criminals are confined in the cavern. Those of inferior guilt are kept in the upper prison, according to the discretion of the overseers. The upper prison contains a dwelling for the keeper, and proper apartments for the disposal of the prisoners. The keeper is furnished with a guard, not exceeding ten, at the discretion of the overseers. In this building, which is very strongly secured, the prisoners are confined to hard labour, the avails of which go to their support. If they have not supported themselves, and paid the expenses of the state, occasioned by their crimes, they may be obliged to labour, after their original term of confinement has expired, until the demand is satisfied. Formerly all the prisoners, confined in Newgate, were kept together. In this case, the young adventurer in villainy was, in effect, put to school to the adept; and initiated in more crimes, and more ingenious modes of perpetration, than he would have discovered by himself in a whole life. The legislature, in the year 1805, became so sensible of the immorality, as well as impolicy of this arrangement, as to be induced, so far as resolves and reports of committees extended, to form a better. Unhappily it has never been reduced to practice.

There are two advantages attending this prison; its safety from escapes, and the terror with which it is regarded. The apprehension of being confined under ground, and the almost absolute despair of making an escape, have probably had a se-

rious influence to prevent the crimes for which its gloomy recesses furnish the reward.

"Confinement in this place has not, hitherto, although it has been employed as a prison twenty-five years*, proved in any peculiar degree unhealthy. Whenever prisoners are sick, they are lodged in a hospital, contained in the upper prison.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Newgate was made a state-prison in May 1790, on its present establishment; but was used as a prison in the revolutionary war.

LETTER XXVIII.

Executive of Connecticut. Observations concerning the System of Government.

DEAR SIR;

HAVING given you a summary account of the legislature, judicial courts, and general scheme of penal justice in the state of Connecticut, I will now present you a brief view of the executive.

The governor has power to call the general assembly when he shall judge that there is occasion; is commander-in-chief of the militia and marine of the state, and president of the council; appoints and commissions notaries public; signs all commissions; and is a justice of the peace throughout the state. In the recess of the legislature, he has also power to appoint commissioners on turnpike roads, when it shall be necessary.

The governor and council appoint sheriffs, grant briefs for charitable contributions throughout the whole or any part of the state, lay embargoes, grant commissions of sewers, authorise and require the clearing of obstructions in rivers and smaller streams, and give such orders in case of dangerous sickness as they judge proper.

Sheriffs, constables, and other subordinate officers, have much the same powers and duties as in other American states, and in Great Britain. The sheriff is not, however, as in England, a judicial officer; but merely a minister of justice. The custody of prisoners, and the superintendance of prisons, are in his hands; and he commands the militia, where a councillor or a justice of the peace shall judge it advisable to employ them for the adjusting or removal of opposition. He appoints deputies; and, on an extraordinary occasion, any meet person as his deputy. In executing writs, constables have, within their respective townships, the same powers which the sheriff has throughout the county.

There is in this state no standing grand jury, or inquest of the county. Grand juries are summoned occasionally, in capital cases only, to inquire into and present crimes for trial. The several towns, however, are required to elect two or more sober and discreet persons of their inhabitants, to serve as grand jurors for the year. The clerk of the county court, or court of common pleas, to whom the names of these persons are returned, is empowered to summon, by his writ such a number of them as he shall judge necessary to attend and serve at the said court. If they refuse to act as grand jurors, they forfeit five dollars each for such refusal; and if to attend the court of common pleas, when summoned, three dollars and thirty-four cents. It is their duty diligently to inquire after, and due presentment make, of all misdemeanours and breaches of law, of which they have cognizance. If towns refuse to choose them, they forfeit seventeen dollars. For the more effectual performance of their duty, the grand jurors in each town are required to meet once in three months at least, and oftener if necessary, to advise concerning the subjects of their duty, and have power to call before them any person or persons to give testimony concerning any proper object of their inquiry. If any persons refuse to appear, after being summoned by a warrant from a councillor or justice of the peace, who are directed, at their request, to grant such warrant, or shall refuse to be examined upon oath when required, the councillor or justice, who gave the warrant, may commit them to the common gaol; there to remain until they consent to be examined.

The circuit courts, and courts of common pleas, have power to order a grand jury of eighteen, either of those chosen as above, or other sufficient freeholders of the county, who are to be impannelled and sworn to inquire after the offences cognizable by the respective courts. No person can be put to plead to any complaint, indictment, or accusation, for a capital offence, unless a bill of indictment be found against him by a grand jury legally impannelled and sworn, to which twelve at least of the jurors have agreed.

Lawyers, though not in the strict sense executive officers, are yet so extensively employed in promoting the dispensation of justice, as to make the mention of them proper in this

place. The courts of common pleas are empowered to approve of, nominate, and appoint, attornies in their respective counties, as there shall be occasion, to plead at the bar. Previously to their admission they take an oath, administered by the authority of the court in which they swear, "to do no falsehood, and consent to the doing of none in the court; and if they know of any, to inform the judges; not willingly to promote, sue, or procure to be sued, any false and unlawful suit, nor aid nor consent to the same; to delay no man for lucre or malice, but to discharge their office according to the best of their learning and discretion, and with all good fidelity, as well to the court as to the client." The supreme court, and the courts of common pleas, are respectively authorised to make such regulations as they judge proper, relative to the admission and practice of attornies in the court of common pleas, and the circuit and supreme courts. The law, making this provision, was passed in the year 1808. Before that time, all lawyers, admitted to practise in the court of common pleas, were admitted to practise also in the higher courts. Now they must undergo two examinations before they can practise in the circuit and supreme courts. Every attorney is also an advocate, if he chooses to assume this office. Such as are admitted to practise in the higher courts are, "after two years practice, and having a good character," admitted, of course, in the courts of the United States, and are styled counsellors at law.

No person beside attornies is permitted to appear as an advocate in any cause, except his own*.

I have now finished the account which I proposed to give you concerning the government of Connecticut. I shall subjoin several observations concerning this subject, all of which may probably not occur to a foreigner.

* There is hardly a book, which professes to give any account of the state of Connecticut, in which it is not asserted, that the number of lawyers is very great, proportionally greater than in any other country. The state of New-York contains less than four times the number of inhabitants in Connecticut. There are two hundred and sixteen lawyers in Connecticut. In New-York there are more than two thousand. It is customarily said, that beside those of higher classes, there are thirty thousand attornies in Great Britain; a number proportionally about three times as great as that in Connecticut.

You will perceive by this sketch, that the government of this state is more than almost any other democratic. Perhaps it approaches as near to a pure democracy, as is consistent with the fact, that its legislature is representative. I suspect there is not a state in the world, where an individual is of more, perhaps of as much, importance in the mere character of a man, as in this community. A large proportion of the inhabitants, as I have observed above, hold, at some time or other of their lives, public offices, and are personally employed in promoting the general interests of society. The elections of their representatives are semi-annual; those of the governor, council, treasurer, secretary, and all their town-officers, are annual, and are made by the people. All their judges and justices are annually chosen by the legislature. Sheriffs are appointed by the governor and council, and may, perhaps, be considered as holding their office during good behaviour. The aldermen and common council of the cities are also annually chosen by the citizens. The same persons elect a mayor, who, however, holds his office during the pleasure of the legislature. Thus, you will observe, that every thing in the policy of this state is, to use the word in its original sense, almost absolutely democratical.

Intelligent foreigners, who have made such inquiries as were in their power, and gained some knowledge of our system of government, who see it in theory more liable to fluctuation than any other, and yet are obliged by facts to acknowledge, that it is one of the most stable and unchanging in the world; are astonished and perplexed at this strange contradiction.

An inhabitant of Great Britain, possessing even a tolerable share of political information, cannot need to be told, that there is often scarcely a resemblance between the actual state of a government and its theoretical principles. The prerogatives of his own sovereign are on paper so numerous and so formidable, as apparently to leave hardly a vestige of liberty to his subjects. Yet in the real state of things these prerogatives are of little moment, and are met and checked by so many actual limitations as to reduce them almost to mere pageantry. The real power of the British sovereign is founded chiefly on his patronage. Were he stripped of this, he would become com-

paratively a cypher. In the government of Connecticut there is nothing which indicates a greater discordance between theory and fact, than what is seen in this allusion. It is generally agreed by political writers, that a republican government is based on public opinion, or the opinion of the governed. Of no republic can this truth be more absolutely asserted than of Connecticut; if we understand by this phrase the habitual feelings and opinions of the community. All these opinions and feelings are, as a body, favourable to the stability of the government, as well as to the mildness of its administration, and the liberty of the subject. The causes of this fact both your curiosity and your philanthropy will induce you to regard as interesting objects of inquiry. Connecticut is a singular phenomenon in the political hemisphere. Such a degree of freedom was never before united with such a degree of stability, or so much individual consequence in all the members of a community with such cheerful and uniform obedience to its laws. At the same time, if I have fairly stated the comparative happiness of this people, you cannot but wish to know whence it has proceeded. Nor can you be indifferent to the fact, that those who enjoy it are, together with yourself, descendants of Englishmen.

The first cause of this state of things, under God, is to be found in our ancestors. These highly respectable men, with the venerable Hooker at their head, and his excellent coadjutors, formed in the year 1639 (four years after the arrival of the first English planters), the constitution, of which I have given you the substance, and which to this day is the great outline of our system of government. Few men have entertained more just and solid views of rational liberty, and better understood that happy mean between political slavery and licentiousness, in which consists real freedom. Few men have so well understood, not merely that such freedom was consistent with absolute submission to the laws, but that it cannot exist without it. They saw clearly, and proved with the best of all evidence, the evidence of fact, that government, while it was conducted, without warping, by the rules of law, should control absolutely every citizen; and that whoever opposed it should be crushed by its power. They perfectly discerned, that oppression does not result from the decision of governments, but

from the uncertainty or severity of the rules by which it is administered.

Both their constitutions and their laws were founded on this scheme. To the rules which they adopted, they demanded the absolute obedience of every man. But they made those rules just, useful to the public, and, so far as might be, favourable to every man's personal interests. They secured every man against the intrusions of his neighbour and of the magistrate, and assured to the magistrate, while employed in his proper function, universal obedience.

From these just views, and that rectilinear integrity by which they were directed, sprang their whole system. From them it has descended, and brought with it its blessings to us, improved in some respects, and manifestly impaired in others. Some of their measures have been thought rigid and severe. We are, perhaps, imperfect judges of this subject. It is difficult to judge, satisfactorily, concerning the propriety or impropriety of measures differing materially from our own. We are partial to our own, and, of course, judge unfavourably of those which differ from them. In this case we often judge weakly, without a sufficient examination of the facts or the circumstances, and with much the same spirit with which a parent judges between his own children and those of a stranger. With all these abatements, however, I am ready to concede, that there is an appearance of rigour and severity in some of their laws, and some of their administrations. But when I remember, that man is never perfect in any of his works, and that it is the tendency of succeeding generations to become more and more lax and inefficient in all their jurisprudence; when I remember, that every free people (for of such only am I speaking) have gradually loosened the bonds which hold together a happy society; I am in doubt whether I ought not to rejoice, that our ancestors sustained this character. Had they imbibed the contrary error, what, probably, would at this time have been the situation of their posterity?

As I know of no men, who in my belief would have laid such a foundation for public happiness, except those by whom it was actually laid; so I can scarcely believe that it would have been laid by these men in any circumstances, except such as those in which they were placed. They were British subjects,

and discerning that a watchful eye would regularly scrutinize all their measures, were of course prevented from rushing into excesses by a strong sense of their responsibility. What was perhaps of little less influence, they knew that the eye of the religious public was upon them. They had professed in Great Britain a greater degree of strictness and purity than some of their countrymen. This profession they were bound by common decency to accord with in their conduct, so far as to furnish no just cause of censure; and, if it could be done, to compel the approbation even of their adversaries. They were extensively connected also with persons of much respectability, who adopted the same system. To these men, who observed them with an equal share of tenderness and anxiety, they felt themselves peculiarly accountable.

Around them were numerous tribes of savages. In the infant state of the colony, such as it was when they formed their constitution, these people were formidable, and had already given them very distressing proofs of their hostility and prowess. From the war with the Pequods they had learned the absolute necessity of an exact and vigorous police, and of those effectual preparations for defence, which can never be made under a feeble and dissolute government.

They were also alone, at a great distance from any other civilised people. It was necessary that they should be mutual friends. From dissensions they had every thing to fear. A great people will suffer from them; a little one will be destroyed.

The value of liberty they had learned, both from the institutions of their native country, and from their own sufferings. An enjoyment often intruded upon, and still preserved, becomes intensely endeared to the possessor. Never was this enjoyment held in higher estimation by any collection of mankind. In all their laws, institutions, and administrations it lives, and breathes, and animates.

All these things would, however, have been of little avail, had not the planters themselves been eminently intelligent and virtuous. Mr. Hooker was called the Luther of New-England; and the celebrated Dr. Ames declared, that he never met with his equal, either in preaching or disputation. As he was dying, he said "I am going to receive mercy,"

closed his own eyes, and expired with a smile. His coadjutors were like him. They feared God, and loved each other. Public happiness was never entrusted to better hands, and never provided for in a better manner.

The circumstances, under which this important business was begun, were universally continued so long, and operated so powerfully, as to give entire consistence to the political structure originally erected. The community was long under the British government, which often gave them sufficient testimonies of unkindness and hostility. Their freedom was thought too great; their approximation to independence too near. A predilection for New-York, because it was a province more absolutely under the control, and more obsequious to the pleasure of the British government, was so often and so unreasonably manifested, as to teach the people of Connecticut the necessity of extreme caution in all their political measures. Once they were ordered to surrender their charter, and saw their government subverted.

When the Indians ceased to be formidable, the French arrayed all their own power, and marshalled the fury of the savages against New-England. From the commencement of Philip's war until the year 1760, a period of eighty-five years, there never was an hour in which the inhabitants of the settlements on the frontier could travel in the forests, work in their fields, or lie down in their beds, unless soon after the commencement of a peace, without some danger from the tomahawk and scalping knife. It was scarcely possible for people of any consideration to fail, in such circumstances, of regular obedience to a government, which was indispensable to personal as well as public safety.

Their habits of obedience, generated and cherished in this manner, were greatly strengthened by the operations of the government itself. The efficacy of all their institutions, civil, literary, and religious, was eminently happy. Those who lived under them were obliged, as well as encouraged, to have their children taught at least reading, writing, and arithmetic; and all who were able were induced to give their children superior advantages of education. A great part of those who can read will, and will thus in a considerable degree acquire information. Hence the people at large were better judges

than those of most other countries, both of the system of government and its influence on their happiness. They perceived, they understood their privileges, and the causes of them, and regarded both with a vigorous and increasing affection. The English, in ancient times, were perhaps never so strongly attached to the laws of Edward the Confessor as the people of Connecticut to their original institutions.

Even the dimensions of Connecticut have, in my own opinion, a beneficent, and that not a small, influence in promoting its prosperity. A great state is rarely very happy. I have remarked, that Connecticut is too large a territory to feel, materially, the political influence of a single man. It is so small, that all its interests may be easily and thoroughly understood by those who manage them; that the characters of those who are candidates for place and power can be perfectly known by the electors; and that the respective interests of the several towns harmonize of course. The discordance, arising from the clashing interests of the different parts of a great state, is unknown here. Every thing, which is useful to the body, is here beneficial to the members.

To all these causes is to be added the religious character of the inhabitants, and the influence of their clergy. These subjects I shall have occasion to consider more particularly hereafter. It will be sufficient to observe at the present time, that both enter deeply into the state of society, and have an important efficacy on its concerns.

From these sources, and perhaps from others not within my present recollection, has been derived the singular character of this state, and what are proverbially called its steady habits. You have seen, that the powers attached to the supreme executive are in a sense nothing. Yet the laws, and the administration of them, are not, and cannot safely be resisted by any man. Its offices are all elective; yet the incumbents, except those who belong to the house of representatives, hold them with a stability unparalleled under any monarchy in Europe. The office of secretary is elective; yet the father, son, and grandson of the family of Wyllys held this place in succession more than a century, and the grandson left it by resignation. The Hon. William Hillhouse resigned his seat at the council board after he had been a member of the legis-

lature more than fifty years. There is, probably, no other country in the world where so feeble an executive would be found sufficient for all the purposes of government; or, where judges, annually elected by the legislature, would hold their offices, with scarcely an exception, through life. There is no other free country in which no demagogue ever succeeded. There is no country, where privileged orders do not exist, in which magistrates have been generally holden in so high respect.

There is one important cause of the stability and peace of this state which escaped my attention while forming the preceding catalogue. It is this: the salaries annexed to all public offices are small. Those of the governor and chief justice, for example, are one thousand dollars * each. Various causes have united in producing this fact. The inhabitants were at first few and poor, and were unable to give any other. When they were enlarged to the present standard, they were worth three times their present value. Now they are quite inadequate to the decent support of those who receive them. After they were once established, there were always reasons which could be conveniently alleged against increasing them. To refuse voting for the expenditure of public money is always the road to popularity for little men; and there are always men of a secondary standing in society, who hope, that, when offices are cheap, they may fall to themselves, because they will be declined by their superiors.

There is, however, a share of wisdom in this scheme. Whenever public offices are attended by great emoluments, they are coveted by every man of ambition, avarice, or pleasure. The sight of the prize rouses in every such man an energy which is excessive, and but too commonly able to compass its object. Nothing, which talents, cunning, and fraud can devise, will be unattempted. No length of time will slacken, no disappointment discourage, exertion. A very great proportion of the demagogues in the United States have been started into existence by this prolific cause. When power and profit are united in an office, they furnish, of course, the means of voluptuousness. The three strongest propen-

* The governor's salary is now twelve hundred dollars.

sities in the mind of every bad man, therefore, are here summoned into vigorous action at once. The only check which they find in any human bosom is either despondency, fear, or principle. Intrepid men of this character feel neither despondency nor fear, and principle they have not. Every such office will therefore be coveted and sought by every such man, and by such men most of them will be obtained. Men of worth, where such are the competitors, will soon decline the contest, because it will be too painful to be pursued, and because the prize must be gained by measures to which they cannot descend.

In the early and sound periods of their republic, the Romans pursued the same policy. Their public offices were accompanied by small emoluments. The reward held out to the candidate was the esteem of the community. This was a prize, whose value could be comprehended only by good sense and worth. Men possessing these attributes, therefore, will in such a case constitute a great proportion of the candidates for office. Such was the fact at Rome. Such, in a much more eminent degree, has been the fact here, where the same policy has been pursued. Public places have here been filled almost uniformly by men of an honourable character, and to a great extent by men of acknowledged piety.

It cannot, however, be questioned, that this system has been carried too far. The salaries of the principal public officers ought, without a question, to be considerably increased. The very least which wisdom or justice can admit is, that they should be sufficient to furnish such a support for the incumbents as is decently suited to their respective stations. Still the system is, in the abstract, wise and right; has contributed not a little to the peace of this state; and will be found indispensable to the stability of every republic*.

I am, Sir, &c.

* To the causes above mentioned ought to be added another of primary importance. The Romans owed the imperfect degree of quiet, which they enjoyed during the ages of their republic, chiefly to the fact, that they sent their restless spirits abroad in their armies. Connecticut derives the same blessings to a considerable extent from her emigrations.

LETTER XXIX.

Benefits derived by the American Colonists from their Origin. Defects of the Government of Connecticut.

DEAR SIR;

THE present race of Americans can never be sufficiently thankful, that their ancestors came from Great Britain, and not from any other country in Europe*. In Great Britain they formed most of their ideas of liberty and jurisprudence. There, also, they found their learning and their religion, their morals and their manners. The very language, which they learned in that country, opens to their descendants, as in a great degree it had opened to them, more valuable literature, science, and sound wisdom, than could be found in all the languages of Europe united. In some branches of learning the British have been excelled; in all they have not been equalled. In science and sound wisdom they have no rivals.

It is with no small satisfaction, that I see this language planted in every quarter of the globe. Those, who speak it, are almost absolutely the only persons, who appear solicitous

* Had the American states been colonized from France, the lands would have been parcelled out, as were those of Canada, between a numerous noblesse, and a body of ecclesiastics probably not less numerous. The great body of the New-England people, instead of being what they now are, an enlightened, independent yeomanry, would have been vassals of these two classes of men; mere Canadian peasantry, sunk below the limits of civilization, unable to read or to think; beasts of burthen, like those in the service of the north-west company, satisfied with subsisting on maize and tallow, with an occasional draught of whiskey; Roman Catholics of the lowest class, their consciences in the keeping of ecclesiastics, prostrating themselves before a relic, and worshipping a crucifix or a cake. How mightily would the inhabitants of Boston or Salem, Hartford or New-Haven, find their circumstances changed, were the ground on which they live to become, like the island of Montreal, the property of a convent!

to spread Christianity among nations to whom it is unknown. By this dispensation of Providence a preparation is, I think, evidently making for the establishment of a general vehicle of communication for mankind, by means of which the religion of the cross may, in its purity, be diffused over both continents.

In the courts of this state, cases, not decided by its own statutes, are determined by the common law of England, and where this fails, the statutes of Great Britain, enacted before the settlement of the American colonies, are sometimes appealed to as law. The common law, however, is received here only when it is obviously applicable to our circumstances.

Many of the statutes of Connecticut are chiefly copies of British statutes. Civil processes, also, are, in many respects, the same with those in the English courts. Often they are simpler; sometimes with advantage, sometimes with manifest disadvantage. Generally there is less regularity in them, and therefore less perfection. At the same time, they are usually much less expensive. It ought to be observed, that they are gradually approximating towards the system of the British courts.

Among the defects in the government of this state, I have mentioned the dependence of the judiciary, a dependence equally extending to their places and their salaries. This is a radical defect of great importance, although no very material ill consequences have ever resulted from it hitherto. The smallness of the powers vested in the executive would be sensibly felt as a defect in the government of any other community, and may, perhaps, be a real defect even here.

The deficiency of a grand inquest for each county is, also, a serious evil. On the advantages of such an institution it is unnecessary for me to expatiate. Beside the inestimable preference of preventing crimes to punishing them, the perpetual appearance of this formidable court of inquiry to the eye of intentional villainy, will, probably, do more towards the safety and peace of the public than the post, the gaol, and the gallows. The grand jury, actually chosen, whenever the men are possessed of peculiar weight and energy, accomplish much of the same purpose within their own limits. But, though always men of good reputation, they are often unpossessed of the character which I have specified. This office, like others

which are burthensome, passes from man to man through the list of those who are considered as qualified for it, and therefore frequently falls to the modest and the timid, as well as to the strenuous. Such men, separated, as they now are, into little parties of two or three in each town, will always feel themselves to be destitute of that consequence which is necessary to a vigorous discharge of this duty, and to ensure the peace of society*.

The grand juries, summoned by the respective counties, are assembled only for the purpose of inquiring into and presenting such specific crimes as are then supposed to have been already committed. When the courts are ended their business as a grand jury terminates.

The truth is, that this system of government, though here efficacious and happy, derives a principal part of its efficacy from the early habits of children, formed in the family, the school, and the church.

The law of divorce is, also, an incalculable evil in the police of this state. You may have observed, that one of the clauses of this law permits divorces to be given for three years absence with neglect of duty, or the omission of that care and provision for each other, and their family, incumbent on the married pair. This clause is a direct violation of the law of God, and hostile to every dictate of reason and sound policy. It was enacted in the year 1667. You will probably wonder, that a law so obviously licentious should find its way into a code enacted by so grave, strict, and conscientious a body of men. It was unquestionably derived from the reverence with which that body regarded the doctrines of your own scriptural commentators, who have supposed such a divorce to be warranted by St. Paul in 1 Cor. vii, 15. The learning, wisdom, and good intentions of these men, I regard with high respect; but am constrained to say, that St. Paul furnishes no foundation for the gloss which they have given. Were this a proper place

*The state of our police has undergone a very material change within the last thirty years. Justices of the peace were in this sense considered, originally, as informing officers of themselves, *viz.* that whatever crimes they were witnesses of they punished. Now they take cognizance of none besides those which are brought to them by informing officers, properly so called.

for discussing the subject, it would be easy to show, that their interpretation makes the Apostle, within the short compass of seven verses, contradict both Christ and himself; that his words furnish not even a pretence for the meaning which is here annexed to them, and that they have not a remote reference to the opinion in question. Equally easy would it be to prove, that the legislature, in enacting this law, produces the very evils which it intends to remedy; violates openly the law of God, and lends its powerful assistance to spread pollution through the state. Three-fourths of the inhabitants are, I verily believe, opposed to this law in their sober judgment; yet, venerable with antiquity, it has hitherto had strength enough to continue in existence, and produces, annually, great and very distressing evils.

The neglect of punishing petty crimes with exactness and vigour is also an important defect in the police of this state. I do not intend that these crimes are not punished, but that they are suffered to escape, in so many instances, as to persuade the intentional delinquent that he may perpetrate them without danger. Such a police is essentially bad, and has no other influence than to multiply trespasses against law, morality, and social happiness.

This detail might be extended farther. I have mentioned the principal articles belonging to it, which are within my recollection. To enumerate those, which are of minor importance, would be a tax upon your patience and your time.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXX.

Journey to Springfield. Windsor. Hardships encountered by the first Settlers. Hon. Mr. Ellsworth.

DEAR SIR;

FRIDAY, September 23d, we pursued our journey to Springfield, twenty-seven miles; through Windsor, Suffield, and a part of West-Springfield. The road is in some places sandy, but generally good. Ten miles from Hartford, houses are built everywhere on the road, at little distances, so as to form one continual village. Seven of these miles are in Windsor. Windsor, therefore, as a town, lies seven miles in one continued settlement on the road. A great proportion of the houses are decent; several of them are good. The surface is chiefly composed of three plains, stretching in a parallel direction along Connecticut river. The first, or most eastern, is a chain of intervals, extending nearly through the length of the township. The second is raised so high above the intervals as to be safe from the freshets: the soil, that already described. The third is considerably elevated above this, and is covered with pitch-pines. The soil is composed of sand and gravel; warm, but light and thin. On a hill in the road, about five miles from Hartford, there is a rich and beautiful view of the Connecticut valley and the mountains by which it is bordered. Farmington river runs through the breadth of this township, and enters the Connecticut between six and seven miles from Hartford. This river rises in the township of Becket in Massachusetts, whence it runs a south-easterly course through Bethlehem, Loudon, and Granville, in Massachusetts, and through Hartland, Barkhampstead, New-Hartford, Canton, Burlington, and Bristol, to Farmington, about forty miles; thence north through Simsbury, about fourteen miles; and

thence south-eastward through Windsor, about ten miles more. In Windsor, Simsbury, and Farmington, this stream is bordered by a valuable chain of beautiful intervals. Along its banks a turnpike road extends from Farmington to Becket, in Massachusetts, and thence onward, through Lenox and Pittsfield, to Albany, with a rise so gradual as to ascend the summit of the Green Mountains in a manner absolutely imperceptible by the traveller. This is the largest tributary stream of the Connecticut.

The first English house built in this state was erected, as has been heretofore observed, in this town, just below the mouth of Farmington river, by William Holmes, of Plymouth, aided by a few companions from the same place, in the year 1633. In 1635, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, were settled in the manner already mentioned. The Rev. John Warham, a gentleman not a little distinguished for his learning and piety, was their first minister. Wethersfield was the earliest of these settlements.

The hardships encountered by the first planters are not easily conceivable. The labour of converting an American forest into an habitable country is immense. These settlements, you will remember, were more than one hundred miles from any haunt of civilized man; and the journey lay through a wilderness hardly passable. Unhappily, they commenced their expedition so late as the 15th of October, and of course arrived at the place of their destination a short time only before the approach of winter. Here they were obliged to encamp in the forest, until they could furnish themselves with huts. They had shipped their furniture and provisions at Boston, and lost the principal part of both by shipwreck. They were, therefore, in a great measure destitute even of the necessaries of life, and threatened with absolute famine. Some of them attempted to return to Boston by land. Of these one was drowned, and the others were prevented from perishing by the Indians. Seventy of them embarked in a small vessel, released from the ice by a copious rain, and after various misfortunes arrived safely at Boston. Those whom they left behind were by this diminution, probably, preserved from starving.

During the first winter a great number of their cattle perished. By this misfortune the people of Windsor lost two

hundred pounds sterling, a more distressing loss to them than twenty thousand would be to their descendants. Almost all cow, or a horse, could be replaced from England only. They were encircled by savages whose good will was precarious, and whose declaration of war was a massacre, or a conflagration. Peace, safety, and life, therefore, hung perpetually in doubt, and suspense became a calamity scarcely inferior to those which were most dreaded. In the face of these discouragements, however, and in spite of these sufferings, the generous minded people whom I have mentioned, planted themselves in the depths of this immense forest. The evils which they could not overcome they patiently endured; and in the midst of their sufferings found and acknowledged many reasons for gratitude.

The principal inducement to this distant and hazardous adventure was presented by the intervals on Connecticut river. These rich and beautiful lands, always highly valued, appear to have been peculiarly prized by our ancestors. Like the Dutch colonists of New York, they sometimes styled them *land*, by way of eminence. Such lands have indeed been always held in high estimation by mankind; as we know by the numerous accounts given of those on the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Ganges. The river also presented them advantageous means of transportation and commerce. From the influence of these objects the counties of Hampshire, Hartford, and Middlesex were extensively planted many years before those of Worcester, Windham, and Tolland.

The people of Windsor, like some others on this river, appear to have adopted a regular, but easy industry; and to have formed a settled character, which seems unlikely to be soon changed by their descendants. Their houses and their husbandry are rather neat; and in few places, where so many people are collected, is an aspect so entirely rural presented everywhere to the eye of the traveller. Formerly, the inhabitants of this town, having occasion to build a new church in the place of one which was decayed, contended so warmly about the spot on which it was to be built, that they separated themselves into two congregations. This, though a shameful, is not uncommon subject of parochial controversy. Happily the people of Windsor have returned to their senses, and

again become united. This conduct deserves to be mentioned with honour, because it is rare, and because it indicates a degree of good sense and moderation, which a benevolent man would wish to see more frequently prevailing. To the clergyman, who retired, a respectable man, they gave a handsome gratuity.

In the northern part of Windsor lately lived the Hon. Oliver Ellsworth, LL. D. chief justice of the United States. To this gentleman, my particular friend, and an eminent benefactor to his country, I would willingly give such a testimony of respect as is due to his merits, were it in my power to do them justice. He was born April 29th, 1745. In 1762 he entered Yale college as a freshman, where he continued three years. In 1765 he went to Nassau hall, where he took his first degree in 1766. He studied law, successively, with the first Governor Griswold and the Hon. Jesse Root, since chief justice of the state, and was admitted to the bar in the year 1771. To the business of this profession he devoted himself with the utmost industry, and was soon considered as the first advocate in this county. After a short period he was summoned into public employments. In 1777, he was chosen a delegate to the continental congress. In 1780, he was chosen into the council of Connecticut, and left that board in 1784, for a seat in the superior court. In 1787, he was sent to the general convention, which formed the American constitution, and was afterwards elected a member of the state convention, by which it was adopted in Connecticut. At the organization of the federal government in 1789, he was appointed a senator of the United States. This place he held till March 1796, when, nominated by President Washington, he was appointed chief justice of the Union. In 1799, he was sent, by President Adams, envoy extraordinary to France, for the purpose of settling the controversies between that country and this. His companions in this mission were Governor Davie and the Hon. Mr. Murray. After the business of the embassy was finished, he went to England, with the hope of deriving some advantage to his health from the mineral waters of that country, and from the skill of its physicians, but with little expectation of being able to return to America. He obtained, however, a degree of relief, which exceeded his most sanguine hopes; and was

so far restored that he came back to his native country the following spring; and, having a prosperous voyage, found his health very little impaired.

While he was in England, he forwarded to the American government a resignation of his office as chief justice. Immediately after his return he was elected into the council of this state, in which he continued till his death, November 26th, 1807. In 1807, when the supreme court was organized in its present form, he was appointed chief justice of the state; but he declined the office, from a conviction that his disease would prevent him from discharging the duties which it involved.

This disease was the gravel; and it appeared to be the result of a complication of disorders, forced into this distressing issue by his extreme sufferings on his voyage to Europe, particularly in the Bay of Biscay, where a long course of violent weather drove him back from Bourdeaux, the place of his destination, to Corunna, and obliged him to make his journey through Spain, and across the Pyrenees, to Paris. The Bath waters gave him very important relief; and he found the same relief from artificial waters compounded in England, and apparently possessing the same qualities. Similar relief he found, also, from the waters of Ballston, and those of Suffield. He was, however, afflicted at times with severe paroxysms, one of which terminated his life.

Mr. Ellsworth was formed to be a great man. His person was tall, dignified, and commanding; and his manners, though wholly destitute of haughtiness and arrogance, were such as irresistibly to excite in others, wherever he was present, the sense of inferiority. His very attitude inspired awe. His imagination was uncommonly vivid; his wit brilliant and piercing; his logical powers very great, and his comprehension fitted for capacious views and vast designs. Intense thought appeared to be his amusement, and he unfolded his views on every occasion with an arrangement singularly clear and luminous. Perhaps no judge ever more delighted or astonished an intelligent assembly by extricating a cause, perplexed in law, fact, and testimony, from all its embarrassments, and exhibiting it perfectly to the comprehension of plain common sense.

His eloquence, and indeed almost every other part of his character, was peculiar. Always possessed of his own scheme of thought concerning every subject which he discussed, ardent, bold, intense, and masterly, his conceptions were just and great; his reasonings invincible; his images glowing; his sentiments noble; his phraseology remarkable for its clearness and precision; his style concise and strong; and his utterance vehement and overwhelming. Universally, his eloquence strongly resembled that of Demosthenes, grave, forcible, and inclined to severity.

In the numerous public stations, which he filled during a period of more than thirty years, he regularly rose to the first rank of reputation, and in every assembly, public and private, in which he appeared, after he had fairly entered public life, there was probably no man, when Washington was not present, who would be more readily acknowledged to hold the first character.

To this superiority of intelligence his moral attributes were peculiarly suited. In private life he was just and amiable. In his manner of living, although possessed of an ample fortune, he blended with a happy propriety, plainness and dignity. Affable, frank, obliging, easy of access, equally sprightly and instructive in his conversation, he was an uncommonly agreeable man. In public life his impartiality, fairness, integrity, and patriotism, awed and defied even calumny and suspicion. He became early a professor of religion, and adorned his profession with a life of distinguished excellence. During his last sickness he was, at times, deprived of his reason. In his lucid intervals, the observations which he made, and the sentiments which he expressed concerning the nature, excellence, and rewards of Christianity, were declared by those who were present, not only to have been pious, ardent, and sublime, but wonderful.

Mr. Ellsworth, as has been observed, took his first degree in 1766, and was sent to the continental congress in 1777. One year of these eleven he spent in the study of theology, and the remainder he employed in the study and practice of law. The rest of his life, except five years while he was a judge of the superior court, was occupied to a great extent,

or wholly, by political business. Retentive as his mind was, he must, from his intense application to public affairs, have lost much of that ready recollection, and that exact knowledge of law, which are so necessary for the bench. Yet he sustained the office of chief justice of the United States with high and increasing reputation, throughout every part of the Union. As a senator he was pre-eminent. His mind discerned political subjects with an intuition peculiar to himself. It may be questioned whether he left behind him many individuals, who better understood the interests of the human race, particularly those of his own country.

In the year 1756, Windsor contained 4,170 whites, and 50 blacks. It then included East-Windsor. In 1774, these towns contained 5,043 whites, and 81 blacks, of which Windsor contained 2,082 whites, and 43 blacks. In 1790, Windsor contained 2,714 inhabitants.

In 1800, there were in Windsor 2,729 whites, and 44 blacks; and, in 1810, 2,868. Windsor includes two parishes, the Town, and Pughquonnoc, or Pequonnoc.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXXI.

Change of Forest Vegetation. Suffield. Major-General Lyman. Military Adventurers.

DEAR SIR;

FROM Windsor the road, leaving Connecticut river, proceeds to Suffield over a plain of yellow pines, about five miles in extent. At the entrance upon this plain, the pines for near a mile were, many years since, entirely cut off; and in their place has sprung up a forest of oaks. Such a change in forest vegetation is not uncommon; yet it is curious, and will hereafter be made a subject of inquiry.

The fields on this plain, which are considerably numerous, are unenclosed. This species of agricultural economy is said to be common in France, Germany, and other European countries; but in this state exists, I believe, here only*. The soil is thin, and the produce inconsiderable, while materials for fencing are distant and expensive. Hedges have, hitherto, been attempted without success in New-England.

The town of Suffield is built along the road, measured on each of the branches towards Springfield and Westfield, about seven miles. The principal street, which is a mile in length, lies on a beautiful ground, ascending gradually from the south to the north through the whole distance. From the higher parts the eye is surrounded by a noble prospect, over a considerable part of the expansion already mentioned. In this view the peak of Mount Tom, seen forward at the distance of twenty miles, is a prominent and very fine object. The houses on both sides of the street are built in a handsome style; and, being painted white (the common colour of houses in New-England), and in the midst of lots† universally covered with a

* It has since been adopted in several other places.

† This use of the word lot is, I believe, American only. The division of the land in a township was originally, and in many cases still is, made by

rich verdure, and adorned with flourishing orchards, exhibit a scene uncommonly cheerful.

Suffield contains two parishes; the Town, and West-Suffield, and three congregations, two Presbyterian and a Baptist. The soil of the township is of the kind so often mentioned, and perhaps not inferior to any other in the state.

A considerable number of the inhabitants of this part of the state have for many years employed themselves in peddling several kinds of articles, of small value, in many parts of this country. The proprietor loads with these one or more horses, and either travels himself, or sends an agent from place to place, until he has bartered or sold them. In expeditions of this nature considerable numbers have spent no small part of their lives.

The consequences of this employment, and of all others like it, are generally malignant. Men, who begin life with bargaining for small wares, will almost invariably become sharpers. The commanding aim of every such man will soon be to make a good bargain; and he will speedily consider every gainful bargain as a good one. The tricks of fraud will assume, in his mind, the same place which commercial skill and an honourable system of dealing hold in the mind of a merchant. Often employed in disputes, he becomes noisy, pertinacious, and impudent. A great body of the inhabitants in this part of the country are exempted from any share in these remarks, and sustain the same respectable character which is common throughout New-England. Still I believe this unfortunate employment to have had an unhappy influence on both the morals and manners of the people, so far as it has extended.

At a small distance, westward from the Presbyterian church in this town, lived Major-General Phineas Lyman. Few Americans have a better claim to the remembrance of poste-

lot; and the portion which fell to each individual was called his lot; and, if distributed into several divisions, was in each instance denominated by the same term. Thus, one was his house or home-lot; another his plain-lot; another his mountain-lot, &c., according to the circumstances. In this manner probably "lot" has come to signify, not only what is styled in England a close; but any tract of land belonging to an individual or company, whether enclosed or unenclosed, unless the tract should be very extensive. The word close is scarcely used in this country, except in legal proceedings.

rity than this gentleman; and the history of few men who have been natives of it can be more interesting.

He was born at Durham, of a reputable family, about the year 1716. He entered Yale college in 1734, and received his first degree in 1738. When a senior sophister, he was chosen one of the Berkleian scholars; and in 1739 was appointed a tutor. In this office he continued three years, with much reputation. He then devoted himself to the profession of the law; and, after being admitted to the bar, began the practice in this town; at that time considered as belonging to the province of Massachusetts'-Bay. His business soon became extensive, and his character distinguished. In 1749, the inhabitants of Suffield, convinced by his arguments, that according to the original boundaries of Connecticut, and the dictates of their own interest, they ought to belong to that jurisdiction, employed him as their advocate to procure them an admission into that colony. His mission was successful. The following year he was chosen their representative; and in 1753 was elected into the council, of which he continued a member until 1759. In 1755, he was appointed major-general and commander-in-chief of the Connecticut forces, and held this office until the Canadian war was ended. He then went as commander-in-chief of the American troops in the expedition to the Havannah, in the year 1762. In all these employments he rendered important services to his country, and acquired a high reputation for wisdom, integrity, bravery, military skill, and every honourable characteristic of a soldier. In the battle at Lake George, the first link in the chain of splendid successes, which raised so high the power and glory of the British nation, the command devolved on him immediately after its commencement; Sir William Johnson having been early wounded, and obliged to retire from the scene of action. During the whole course of the war, beside the high testimony given to his worth by the state, he received many others, particularly from the British officers, who were his companions in service, by several of whom he was holden in peculiar esteem. By these gentlemen he was so advantageously spoken of in Great Britain, that an invitation was given him by some persons in high office to visit that country.

A company had been formed, by his exertions, under the

name of Military Adventurers, composed chiefly of such as had been officers and soldiers during the preceding war. Their object was to obtain from the British government a considerable tract of land bordering on the rivers Mississippi and Yazoo: on this tract they proposed to plant themselves, and as large a colony of their countrymen as they could induce to join them. General Lyman went to England as agent for this company, and entertained not a doubt that his application would be successful.

Soon after his arrival, his own friends in the ministry were removed. Those who succeeded them had other friends to provide for, and found it convenient to forget his services. It will be difficult for a man of mere common sense to invent a reason, why a tract of land in a remote wilderness, scarcely worth a cent an acre, could be grudged to any body of men who were willing to settle on it. It will be more difficult to conceive how it could be refused to a band of veterans, who had served their country faithfully through a long war, and had contributed by their gallant efforts to bring that war to a glorious conclusion. Still more strange must this appear, when it is remembered, that the settlement of these men in that wilderness would have formed an effectual barrier against every enemy in that quarter, and that their agent was a man who might fairly expect to find a favourable answer to every reasonable request. General Lyman, however, found insuperable difficulties embarrassing this business. In his own country he had never solicited public favour otherwise than by faithful services, and was experimentally a stranger to all governmental promises, except such as were punctually fulfilled. For a while his open heart admitted the encouragements given to him in London, and charitably construed the specious reasons alleged for successive delays in the most favourable manner. After dragging out several tedious years in the melancholy employment of listening to court promises, he found, in spite of all his preconceptions, that the men with whom his business lay trifled alike with his interests and their own integrity. Shocked at the degradation which he must sustain by returning to his own country without accomplishing his design, and of appearing as a dupe of court hypocrisy, where he had never appeared but with dignity and honour, he pro-

bably, though not without many struggles, resolved to lay his bones in Britain. The imbecility of mind, which a crowd of irremediable misfortunes, a state of long-continued, anxious suspense, and strong feelings of degradation invariably produce, he experienced in its full extent. His mind lost its elasticity, and became incapable of any thing beyond a seeming effort. Eleven years, the best of his life, were frittered away in this manner.

At length Mrs. Lyman, who in endowments and education was superior to most of her sex, being equally broken down with the distresses in which his absence had involved his family, sent his second son to England in 1774, to solicit his return. The sight of his son called up the remains of his resolution, and determined him to revisit his native country. The tract in question was about this time granted to the petitioners. Many of these were, however, in the grave; others were already hoary with age; and all of them were removed beyond that period of life at which men are willing to plant themselves in a wilderness, lying under a new climate, and a thousand miles from their homes. Of the conditions of the grant I am ignorant. But it wholly failed of producing any benefit to the grantees. Had it been seasonably and generously made, West Florida might now have been a province of Great Britain.

For himself he obtained a tract of land sufficient for cultivation, and at some future period for the establishment of a fortune, and was promised an annuity of two hundred pounds sterling. But the land he was too old to cultivate, and the promise was never performed. He revisited his country, however, in 1774, with the appearance of success and reputation.

When he had spent a short time in Connecticut, he embarked, the following year, for the Mississippi, with his eldest son and a few companions, to make some preparation for the reception of his family, who were soon to follow. This young gentleman had been educated at Yale college; and, while a youth, had received a commission in the British army. This commission, however, he had given up for the practice of law; and that practice he had waveringly pursued under a conviction, daily felt, that he was soon to remove into a distant

country. The irresolution which this conviction produced, was continually increased by the long suspense resulting from the absence of his father, and issued in a broken heart and a confirmed delirium. In this situation his father found him at his arrival in Connecticut, and carried him to West-Florida, with a hope of amending his health and spirits by the influence of a new climate. But the hope was vain. He died soon after he landed in that country. His father followed him to the grave, when he had scarcely begun the accomplishment of his enterprise. The next year, 1776, Mrs. Lyman, together with all the surviving family except the second son, embarked for the same country. She was accompanied by her only brother. Within a few months after their arrival she died, and was followed by her brother the succeeding summer.

The rest of the family continued in the country until it was invaded and conquered by the Spaniards in 1781 and 1782.

These adventurers, together with a small number of their friends, had planted themselves in the neighbourhood of Natches, a town built by the French on the eastern side of the Mississippi, one hundred and eighty miles north of New-Orleans by land, and twice that distance by water, and now the capital of the Mississippi territory. Here the French erected a fort, which was afterwards repaired by the English. To this fortress these people and the other neighbouring inhabitants betook themselves for safety, when they were informed that the Spaniards were ascending the river. The fort was speedily invested; and not being tenable for any length of time, or being unfurnished with provisions or ammunition for a long siege, was surrendered upon easy and honourable terms of capitulation. But the Spaniards shamefully violated all their engagements, and treated the inhabitants with gross indignity and abuse. This conduct roused them to resentment. A messenger was immediately dispatched to General Campbell, then commanding at Pensacola, to inquire of him, whether this breach of faith did not completely release them from their engagements. The General returned an affirmative answer; and declared, that they were at full liberty, by the law of nations, to make any exertions for his majesty's service, which their circumstances would permit. Upon this information, they flew to arms, and retook the fort.

But they had scarcely regained possession of it, when they learned that the Spaniards were advancing in force up the river to attack them. There was no alternative left but either to submit, and suffer whatever Spanish wrath and revenge should choose to inflict, or seek their flight through an immense wilderness, inhabited by savages, to Savannah, in Georgia, the nearest post in the possession of the British. From the Spaniards they had every thing to fear. A flight through the wilderness involved distresses without number, but presented a possibility of safety. These unfortunate people determined, therefore, to attempt it without hesitation.

The contention between Great Britain, whose subjects they were, and the American states, rendered a direct course to the place of their destination too dangerous to be hazarded. To avoid this danger, they were obliged to ascend into North Carolina, then to descend below the Altamaha, and then to cross the state of Georgia again to Savannah. In this circuitous route they wandered, according to their reckoning, more than one thousand three hundred and fifty miles, and occupied one hundred and forty-nine days.

The dangers and hardships which they encountered in their progress, resembled more the adventures of knight-errantry than the occurrences of real life. The caravan was numerous, including women and children, as well as men; some of the children infants at the breast. They were all mounted on horseback; but the ruggedness of the ground obliged such as were able to walk to make a great part of their way on foot. The country through which they passed was intersected by numerous, and those often broad and deep, rivers: steep and lofty mountains, equally difficult to climb and to descend, obstructed their path. Marshes impassable forced them to take long and tedious circuits. The rivers they were obliged to swim on horseback; and, in attempting to cross one of them, several of their number had well nigh perished. Their sufferings from the dread of wild beasts and savages were incessant. The Choctaws, through whose territory and along whose borders their journey lay for a great extent, had espoused the Spanish interests, and become their enemies; and from Indian enemies no concealment, no speed, no distance, can furnish safety. The most quiet, the most secure moments are, like

the silence before a stroke of lightning, a mere prelude to danger and death.

Famine, also, threatened them in their best circumstances, and frequently stared them in the face. Once they were reduced to their last morsel. Often they suffered intensely from thirst. In one instance, when both they and their horses were nearly famished, a lady who was of their company wandered in search of water some distance from their encampment, and found a small spot, which exhibited on its surface a degree of moisture. She scraped away the earth with her hands, and having hollowed out a basin of considerable size, saw it soon partially filled with about a quart of perfectly pure and sweet water. Having assuaged her own thirst, she called the rest of the company, who, together with their horses, all drank at this little spot until they were satisfied, the water returning regularly to the same height as soon as it was exhausted. It ought not to be forgotten, that disease attacked them in various instances; and obliged those, who were well, to halt for the recovery of the sick.

After they had reached the state of Georgia, they separated into two companies. Those, who composed one of these companies, were taken prisoners by the Americans. The company which escaped crossed the Altamaha, and made their journey towards its mouth in East-Florida. On the southern bank of this river they constructed, with great labour and difficulty, a raft of logs, and on that perilous vehicle floated themselves and their horses across. Thus they finally arrived in safety at Savannah, without losing one of their number. Those, who had been taken prisoners, were after a short time released.

One of their adventures deserves a particular relation.

About two days before they reached the first village of the Creeks, or Muscoghees, which was on their way, their provisions were exhausted. As they had lived for some time on a scanty allowance, many of them had lost both their strength and spirits. How long it would be before a new supply could be obtained, it was impossible to determine. In this situation, those who suffered most severely gave themselves up to despair; and, pronouncing all further efforts fruitless, concluded to die on the spot. It was with no small difficulty that their

more robust and resolute companions persuaded them to renew their exertions for a short time, and to proceed with a slow and heavy progress on their journey. At the moment when every hope was vanishing, they discovered that they were in the neighbourhood of this village.

Three of their company were then deputed to go forward, make known their wants, and, if possible, obtain relief from the savages. Colonel M'Gillivray, who for several years exercised an entire control over the Creek nations, had for some time resided in this place, but unfortunately was now absent. As they approached the village, the Indians observed, that their saddles * were such as were used by the Virginians, with whom they were then at war, and declared them to be Virginians and enemies. In vain they asserted that they were subjects of the king of Great Britain, and friends of the Creeks. The saddles refuted their assertions. About seventy of the savages formed a circle around the messengers. In vain did they allege the defenceless state of themselves and their company; the presence of their women and children; their destitution of arms, and even of bread; and the frank, friendly manner in which they had entered the village. The expedition appeared to be mysterious; the motives which led to it strange and inexplicable, and the unfortunate saddles decisively contradictory to all their professions. An earnest, and in the end a very vehement, debate commenced among the savages, of which only a few ill-boding words were understood by the messengers; such as "Virginian," "long-knife," "no-good," and some others. From these they determined, upon the best grounds, that their fate was nearly, if not quite, decided. At the same time every warrior seized his knife; every face became distorted with wrath, and every eye lighted up with fierce and gloomy vengeance. At this desperate moment a black servant of Colonel M'Gillivray, returning from abroad, entered the circle, and demanded the cause of the tumult. The Indians replied, that these strangers were Virginians, as was clearly proved by their saddles; that of course they were bad men, enemies to the Creeks, and to their father the king

* These saddles were of English manufacture, as were those also which were then generally used by the people of Virginia.

of Great Britain; and that, therefore, they ought immediately to be killed. The black fellow then asked the messengers who and whence they were, and what was their errand to the village. To these inquiries they returned an answer with which he was perfectly satisfied. He then told the Indians, that they had wholly mistaken the character of the men; that they were not Virginians, but British subjects, good men, and friends to the Creeks; that they were in distress, and, instead of being killed, ought therefore to be instantly relieved. When he found that his remonstrances did not satisfy the Indians, and that they still believed the messengers to be Virginians, he called them rascals, fools, and madmen. This abuse they took very patiently, without attempting a reply, but still declared themselves wholly unsatisfied. At length one, more moderate than the rest, said, "If they are Englishmen, as they profess, they can make the paper talk;" meaning that, if they were Englishmen, they must have kept a journal, which they could now read for the satisfaction of the Creeks.

The black fellow, seizing the hint, asked the messengers whether they had kept any such journal. They replied in the negative. He then asked whether they had any written paper about them; observing, that it would answer the purpose equally well. One of them, examining his pockets, found an old letter*. From this letter the black directed him to read a history of the expedition, and promised to interpret it to the Indians. Accordingly, looking on the letter as if he was reading it, he briefly recited the adventures of himself and his companions, from the time when they left Natches. The black fellow interpreted sentence by sentence, and the Indians listened with profound attention. As the recital went on, their countenances, which at the sight of the letter had begun to relax, gradually softened; and before it was finished the gloom gave way to a smile, and the ferocity was succeeded by friendship. The whole body put up their knives; and, coming one by one to the messengers, took them cordially by the hand, welcomed them to their village, declared themselves satisfied, that they were good men and Englishmen, and promised them all the assistance in their power. With these

* This was my eldest brother.

joyful tidings, the messengers instantly set out for their company, and brought them immediately to the village. Here they were entertained with as kindness and hospitality as honourable to the Indians as it was necessary to themselves; and rested, until they were recruited for their journey.

To this expedition the two daughters of General Lyman fell victims, after their arrival at Savannah. Three of his sons were of this company: of whom the eldest came to New-York, when the British evacuated Georgia; the second went to Nova-Scotia, and the third to New-Providence. I have been informed, that the eldest came afterwards into Connecticut, and disposed of the remains of his father's estate. What finally became of him, and his two brothers, I am ignorant.

His second son, a man brilliant, gay, and ingenious beyond most of mankind, received, while in England, a military commission, and, a little before the commencement of the American war, was required to join his regiment at Boston. He continued in the army until the year 1782; and then, with a heart rendered nearly torpid with disappointment, sold his commission. A part of the purchase money he received; the remainder he never demanded. Most of what he received he lent, without requiring any evidence of the loan. With the rest he came to Suffield, where within a short time he was literally pennyless. In this situation he was solicited to instruct a school. He consented, and for a while pursued the business without any apparent regret. The stipend, however, when it became due, he made no attempt to collect; nor, when it was collected, to expend it for necessary purposes. His clothes became indecent. Cloth was purchased by his friends, and a suit of clothes made, and brought to him. But he was too broken-hearted and listless to put them on. In a state of discouragement, approximating to a lethargy, his mind, once singularly brilliant and active, languished into insensibility. After a short period he fell a victim to this mental consumption, and joined his friends in the grave.

Such is the history of what, I think, may be called by way of distinction the Unhappy Family. Few persons in this country begin life with a fairer promise of prosperity than General Lyman. Few are born and educated to brighter hopes than those cherished by his children. None, within

the limits of my information, have seen those hopes, prematurely declining, set in deeper darkness. For a considerable time no American possessed a higher or more extensive reputation: no American, who reads this detail, will regard him with envy.

In the year 1756, Suffield contained 1,414 whites, and 24 blacks; in the year 1774, 1,980 whites, and 37 blacks; and, in 1790, 2,267 inhabitants: in the year 1800, it contained 2,666, of whom 89 were blacks; and, in 1810, 2,680; blacks, 47; slaves, none.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXXII.

Springfield. Indian Attack on Springfield. Chequapee. South-Hadley Canal. South-Hadley.

DEAR SIR;

THE road from Suffield to Springfield, returning again to Connecticut river by several turns, nearly right-angled, to the east, is circuitous, and moderately good. Since this journey was taken it has been made better and shorter; and crosses a new, handsome bridge, built at Springfield over Connecticut river, of wooden arches on stone piers. The country along this road is indifferently fertile, and not very pleasant. We, however, took a new and shorter road along the bank of the river, through an almost absolute wilderness, and crossed a ferry, one mile below Springfield. On the river we were presented with a very romantic prospect. The river itself, for several miles, both above and below, one-fourth of a mile wide, was in full view. Agawam, a considerable tributary on the west, with a large and very handsome interval on the tongue between the two streams, joined the Connecticut at a small distance above. The peak of Mount Tom rose nobly in the north-west, at the distance of twelve miles. A little eastward of the Connecticut, the white spire of Springfield church, embosomed in trees, animated the scene in a manner remarkably picturesque. On this side, immediately below the ferry, rose several rude hills, crossed by a sprightly mill-stream. At their foot commenced an extensive interval, called Long-Meadow; above which, in the midst of groves and orchards, ascended the spire of Long-Meadow church. The evening was just so far advanced, as, without obscuring materially the distinctness of our view, to give an inimitable softening to the landscape.

Just below Springfield we crossed a vigorous mill-stream, on which, a little eastward, is erected the most considerable manufactory of arms in the United States. We arrived at sun-down.

Springfield is the oldest town in the county of Hampshire; which, when it was formed, comprehended the whole of Massachusetts'-Bay, from a line twenty miles east of Connecticut river to the western limit. Springfield was originally considered as belonging to Connecticut; and Mr. Pyncheon actually represented Springfield in the general assembly of that colony. The town is built chiefly on a single street, lying parallel with the river nearly two miles. The houses are chiefly on the western side. On the eastern a brook runs almost the whole length; a fact, which is, I believe, singular. From the street a marsh extends about forty or fifty rods to the brow of an elevated pine plain. The waters of this marsh are a collection of living springs, too cold, and too active, to admit of putrefaction on their surface; and for this reason, probably, the town is not unhealthy. Part of this marsh has been converted into meadow. When the rest has undergone the same process, the beauty of the situation will be not a little improved.

The houses of Springfield are more uniformly well built than those of any other inland town in the state, except Worcester*. An uncommon appearance of neatness prevails almost everywhere, refreshing the eye of a traveller. A considerable inland trade is carried on in this town. Several vessels have been heretofore built in it, but none ever loaded north of Windsor. From the beginning, courts in this county were held alternately at Northampton and Springfield. In the year 1794 they were all removed to Northampton, on account of its central situation.

The body of the inhabitants of Springfield have always been respectable, and some of them have been distinguished. The talents and accomplishments of the late Hon. John Worthington, a citizen of this town, and a lawyer of the first eminence, would have done honour to any town and any country.

Springfield originally included West-Springfield and Long-

* This is not the fact at the present time (1815).

Meadow. The following account of a singular incident, which took place in the first settlement of this township, was communicated to me in the year 1798 by Captain Noble, a respectable inhabitant of Hoosac, N. Y. at Noble's Falls, who was then about seventy-six years of age. It was transmitted from his ancestor, one of the persons concerned. One of the first planters in Springfield was a tailor, and another a carpenter. The tailor had for a small consideration purchased of an Indian chief a tract of land, in what is now West-Springfield, forming a square of three miles on a side. The carpenter had constructed a clumsy wheel-barrow, for which the tailor offered to make him a suit of clothes, or convey to him the land. After some deliberation he exchanged the wheel-barrow for the land. This tract contained the best settled part of West-Springfield, many an acre of which might now be sold, for the purposes of cultivation only, at the price of one hundred dollars. I will not assert, that there is no error in the story; yet on the face of it there is nothing improbable.

When a fourth part of a township, of the common size, was sold by one Englishman to another for a wheelbarrow, it will be easily believed, that it was of still less value to the aborigines. To an Englishman it was valuable as the future subject of cultivation, to an Indian as the haunt of game. The small prices paid by the first colonists for the lands in this country are no evidence that the bargains were fraudulent or inequitable. To the Indian, without an English purchaser, the land was often worth nothing; and to the colonist its value was created by his labour. The censures passed upon the colonists, for their manner of purchasing, are therefore groundless. The price which they actually gave, small as it seems, was ordinarily a fair one (and, so far as I know, always), and perfectly satisfactory to the original proprietors.

In the morning, Saturday, September 24th, we visited the arsenal. This consists of two slight, ordinary buildings, of considerable size, standing less than a mile east of the town*. The situation is elevated, and commands an extensive prospect. In these buildings there were, at this time, eleven thousand stand of arms, well made, and in excellent order; together with a

* Several others of a better construction have been built since.

considerable number of field-pieces, mortars, howitzers, &c. I am informed, that the number of muskets now in this arsenal (May 1810), is ninety thousand, and that ten thousand are made annually. A company of soldiers is kept here as a guard, who are accommodated with barracks in the neighbourhood.

The people of this town suffered in several instances from the savages, and once very severely. For near forty years, which had elapsed since its first settlement, the savages in the neighbourhood had lived with the inhabitants in uninterrupted harmony. Upon the breaking out of Philip's war, and the commencement of the troubles which followed it in their own neighbourhood, the people of Springfield entered into an explanation with these Indians on this subject; and so friendly were they, that they very readily gave hostages for the performance of their promises.

The hostages were sent to Hartford, as a place where they should be more securely lodged. In the mean time, more than three hundred of the savages, who had embarked in Philip's cause, arriving in their neighbourhood, persuaded the Springfield Indians to unite with them in the war. The hostages were secretly withdrawn from Hartford, and Philip's Indians received privately by those of Springfield into their fort. Toto, an Indian at Windsor, friendly to the English, disclosed the mischief which was intended, and a post was sent with the tidings to Springfield, who arrived the night before the mischief was to be done. The story however was disbelieved; and a Mr. Cooper, lieutenant of the militia, with another person, rode to the fort, in full confidence that there was no danger. They were both killed. The Indians rushed immediately into the town, burnt thirty-two houses, together with out-buildings, and slaughtered a considerable number of the inhabitants.

In the year 1790, Springfield contained 238 dwelling-houses, and 1,574 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,312; and, in 1810, 2,767.

After returning from the arsenal, we rode to Northampton, through the rest of Springfield, South-Hadley, and a little part of Hadley. Early in our journey we crossed Chéquapee*

* Spelt thus in the year 1654.

river, a considerable tributary stream of the Connecticut. This river is formed of three principal branches, Ware river, derived from a small lake in Gerry; Swift river, which joins it in Ware; and Quaboag, the two branches of which rise in the townships of Rutland and Leicester. The united stream enters the Connecticut, about four miles above Springfield. It is generally remarkable for its rapidity.

This river is crossed on a bridge, twenty-two rods in length, built on seven stone piers, and supported geometrically from above. It was erected in the year 1782, and was considered, justly, as a serious improvement in the bridge-building of this part of the country.

About a mile north of this bridge lies the village of Chequapee. It stands on an interval, contains a few good houses, and an ancient ordinary church without a steeple, and wears few marks of prosperity. A traveller, passing through it, is struck with a forcible impression of solitude.

Formerly Chequapee was a parish, extending several miles on both sides of the river. The separation of West-Springfield from Springfield has ruined it as a parish.

About five or six miles above Chequapee we visited South-Hadley canal, made within a few years to convey boats, rafts, &c. round the falls of South-Hadley. These falls commence about twelve miles north of Springfield, and terminate within somewhat less than ten. Before this canal was finished, the boats were unloaded at the head of the falls, and the merchandise embarked again in other boats at the foot. The removal of this inconvenience was contemplated many years since, but was never seriously undertaken until the year 1792, when a company was formed, under the name of the proprietors of the locks and canals in Connecticut river, and their capital distributed into five hundred and four shares. After the proper surveys had been made by Christopher Collis, Esq., of New York, the business was placed under the direction of Major Benjamin Prescott, of Northampton. A dam was built at the head of the falls, following, in an irregular and oblique course, the bed of rocks across the river. The whole height of the dam was eleven feet, and its elevation above the surface, at the common height of the stream, four. Its length was two hundred rods. Just above the dam the canal commences, de-

fended by a strong guard-lock, and extends down the river two miles and a quarter. At the lower end of the canal was erected an inclined plane, fifty-three feet in height, and two hundred and thirty in length; built of stone obtained in the neighbourhood. The face of the plane was elevated 13½°, and was covered with strong plank. The outlet of the canal was secured by a sufficient lock, of the common construction. When boats were to be conveyed down the intended plane, they passed through the lower lock, and were received immediately through folding doors into a carriage, which admitted a sufficient quantity of water from the canal to float the boat. As soon as the boat was fairly within the carriage, the lock and the folding-doors were closed, and the water suffered to run out of the carriage through sluices made for that purpose. The carriage was then let slowly down the inclined plane on three sets of wheels; the second and third sets being so much larger than the first as to keep the carriage exactly level.

The machinery, by which the carriage was raised or lowered, consisted of a water-wheel, sixteen feet in diameter, on each side of the inclined plane; on the axis of which was wound a strong iron chain, formed like that of a watch, and fastened to the carriage. When the carriage was to be let down, a gate was opened at the bottom of the canal; and the water, passing through a sluice, turned these wheels, and thus slowly unwinding the chain, suffered the carriage to proceed to the foot of the plane by its own weight. When the carriage was to be drawn up, this process was reversed. The motion was perfectly regular, easy, and free from danger. At the foot of the inclined plane another canal is formed round a small rift; and through this, boats make their entrance again into the river. The boats which pass this canal are from fifty to sixty-five feet in length, and carry from ten to twenty-five tons. Upwards of seven thousand tons of merchandise have passed through this canal in a season. The fare is five shillings a ton.

A continual series of misfortunes has attended these works from their commencement. Before the dam was finished, a considerable part of it was carried away by the stream, and the contractor was unable to rebuild it, or to make up the loss.

The canal, which was made at very great expense, being cut nearly two miles through a bed of stone, and for more than half a mile to the depth of from sixteen to thirty feet through a stratum of rocks, too hard to be easily dug, and too loose to be blown, was found to be of insufficient depth. At first cables were employed to raise and let down the boats, and were found insufficient, as well as expensive. The chains, which were substituted for them, were frequently broken; and thus embarrassed the regular course of the navigation. Very disagreeable apprehensions also have been excited for the shad and salmon fisheries in the river, probably not without foundation.

A still greater misfortune than all these has arisen from another source. The dam raised the water for ten miles above, about four feet higher than its common level. In consequence of this fact, the freshets flowed back much farther than before, and left large quantities of stagnant water when they withdrew. At Northampton particularly, one of the healthiest towns in New-England, the inhabitants, for several years after the erection of the dam, were extremely afflicted with the fever and ague; a disease, which, except for two years in consequence of an enlargement of a mill-pond, and in the neighbourhood of that pond, was unknown in this town for more than sixty years. Bilious remittent, and other autumnal fevers, increased also to an alarming degree.

Agitated by these disastrous events, several of the inhabitants instituted suits against the proprietors of these works, under the law concerning nuisances. During the trial of one of these suits, the dam was declared to have been erected illegally. The proprietors were therefore liable to an endless train of prosecutions of the same nature.

In this situation, the proprietors applied to the legislature for relief, and obtained the grant of a lottery in their favour, which yielded them a considerable sum. In consequence of this assistance, they deepened the canal to such a degree, that it is filled without the aid of the dam. The inclined plane also they have given up. Locks at the lower end of the canal have been substituted, and the works have been leased to a

Mr. Cooley, the person who by his native ingenuity alone has been the source of these improvements*.

The largest and most successful fishery, which exists on this river, is carried on at the foot of these falls.

A cataract is of course a romantic and delightful object, particularly in a great river. This spot is uncommonly interesting and beautiful. Above the fall the river steers a southern course for a considerable distance, and then below it turns directly to the east. After wandering over another handsome reach, it turns again to the south. A spectator, standing about a quarter of a mile below the fall, sees on the eastern bank a pretty assemblage of meadows, pastures, and farm houses, and on the western similar grounds, interspersed with scattered trees and small coppices. A grove of pines, farther northward on the same shore, lends its gloom to vary the landscape. On the eastern shore also, he is presented with the singular prospect of these works, consisting of the inclined plane and a number of buildings connected with it, consisting of a saw mill, forge, &c., together with a handsome house erected for the superintendant. In the river itself, and on the shores, the numerous wharfs, boats, fishermen, and spectators, amounting to several hundreds in the month of May, the time at which I have most frequently visited this place, together with the ascent and descent of the carriage, loaded with its freight, and full of people, impress on the mind very sprightly ideas of bustle and business. The cataract descends over a rift of rocks, thirty feet in height and about one hundred rods in length, down which the water is thrown into all the fine forms of fantastical beauty, excessive force, and wild majesty; and at its foot pre-

* The importance of this canal to the country above may be learned from the following statement. The works, according to the conditions of the lease made to Mr. Cooley, produced in five years the following sums:—

	Dollars.	Cents.
In 1810	12,817	76
1811	12,724	78
1812	9,945	87
1813	12,405	75
1814	8,768	56

It will be remembered, that restrictions and war harassed the commerce of this country during the whole of this period.

sents a noble limit to the prospect below; while a rude succession of hills, with a few solitary spots of cultivated ground, opening on their declivities, and beyond them the peak of Mount Tom, ascending in blue, misty grandeur, terminate the view above.

When a spectator approaches the falls, he is presented with an object at once singular and beautiful: a sheet of water spread over an inclined plane of two hundred and thirty feet, floating most elegantly in thousands of perpetually changing, circular waves, and starred with an infinite multitude of small fluctuating spangles. Until I visited this spot, I knew not that it was possible for water to become so beautiful an object.

South-Hadley, formerly a parish of Hadley, was incorporated as a town in 1753. It consists principally of plantations, or farms, on which the inhabitants are dispersed throughout the township. The surface is composed of plains, hills, and vallies, principally covered with pine. The soil is light, warm, and in many places productive. The houses generally are moderately good farmers' houses. There is a small village surrounding the church. The seat of Col. W. is inferior to very few residences in the inland country. South-Hadley is a single parish (as is Springfied also), and contained, in the year 1790, 113 houses, and 759 inhabitants; in 1800, the same number of houses, and 801 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 902 inhabitants.

About four miles above South-Hadley the Connecticut passes through the two large mountains, Tom and Holyoke, having apparently made here, in ancient times, a breach in this range, and forced its passage. By the old people in Northampton I was informed, many years since, of an Indian tradition, that the great valley north of these mountains was once a lake. The story is, certainly, not improbable. From an attentive survey of the country along this river, I have no difficulty in believing, that a chain of lakes occupied the several expansions at some distant period of time. Here, certainly, the general geography of the country, and the particular appearance of the scenery near the river, are favourable to this opinion.

A small hamlet, called by the Indian name Hoccanum, lies

at the foot of Mount Holyoke on the eastern, and another, called Pascommuc, on the western side of the river, at the foot of Mount Tom. Both were formerly destroyed, and the inhabitants partly killed, and partly captivated by the savages. As we passed the declivity at the south-western end of Mount Holyoke, we had a delightful prospect of the country before us; the more agreeable, as we had for some time been travelling through a region which was far from being pleasant.

We reached Northampton at sun-set, and continued there until Tuesday.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXXIII.

Northampton. Character of its Inhabitants. Rev. Solomon Stoddard. Hon. John Stoddard. President Edwards. Hon. Joseph Hawley. Manner of settling Towns in New-England.

DEAR SIR;

NORTHAMPTON was the third town settled in this county, and was purchased by the planters in 1653. It formerly included Southampton, Westhampton, and Easthampton, since incorporated as towns. At the formation of the county of Hampshire it was made a half shire, and on February 26, 1794, was made the county town*.

The settlements in Northampton were begun in the year 1654, and were early very numerous. Allured by the size, beauty, and fertility of the fine intervals in this region, the first planters passed over the rich county of Worcester, and seated

* The first records of this county are contained in the Probate book No. 1. From these it appears, that the first court was held at Springfield, March 27, O. S. 1660; the second, at Springfield, September 25th, 1660; the third at Northampton, March 26th, 1661. March 31st, 1663, the court then sitting at Northampton is first styled the county court.

"April 28th, 1663, at a meeting of Capt. John Pynchon, Henry C. Clark, Capt. Aaron Cook, Lieut. David Wilton, and Elizur Holyoke, all chosen by these several towns, *i. e.* Springfield, Northampton, and Hadley, to order and settle the affairs of the county; they agreed and determined, at the beginning of the year, that the shire meetings of this county should be on the first of March annually, and that the shire meetings should be each other year at Springfield, and each other year at Northampton, in a constant course."

This tribunal was, I believe, singular. Its determinations were, however, accorded with by the government. These commissioners appointed yearly an agent to carry the votes of the county for magistrates, *i. e.* governor, lieutenant-governor and council, and paid him out of the county treasury.

themselves down in a distant solitude filled with savages. A great part of the county of Worcester was a wilderness sixty years after the settlement of Springfield, and forty after that of Northampton.

The surface of this township is eminently pleasant. The soil of the town plot is excellent, and, being universally meadow under the highest cultivation, and everywhere interspersed with orchards, makes a most cheerful appearance. There are no more productive grounds in New-England.

Northampton is built on ten streets, proceeding from the centre with no very distant resemblance to the claws of a crab; only somewhat less winding and less regular. It has been said, that they were laid out by the cows, and that, wherever these animals when going to feed in the forests made their paths, the inhabitants located their streets. The probability is, that the first planters, being both inclined and obliged to build near to each other, placed their houses wherever the ground was sufficiently dry to furnish convenient building spots. In spite of this irregularity, the town with its scenery is a very interesting object to the eye.

Northampton contains 300 houses, and is the largest inland town in Massachusetts. You will remember, that by a town I all along intend a collection of houses in the original village, and not those of a township*. A considerable number of the houses are ordinary, many are good, and not a small proportion are handsome. They are, however, so scattered in the different streets as to make much less impression on the eye than even inferior buildings in many other places, where they are presented at a single view. None of the public buildings are handsome†. The stores and shops, built on the side of an irregular square in the centre, give the traveller a lively impression of the business which is carried on.

* Worcester has been often said, and I know not that it has ever been contradicted, to be the largest town in New-England, which does not stand on navigable water. Worcester is, undoubtedly, the handsomest town in the interior of Massachusetts, but it does not contain more than 150 houses. As a township it is presumed this could not have been asserted of Worcester. Brookfield and Sutton in the same county contain more inhabitants, as do very many other townships in different parts of the New-England interior.

† Since the above was written, Northampton has been greatly improved in the beauty of its appearance. See the journey to the Winnipisiogee.

The objects by which this town is surrounded are not, within my knowledge, excelled in splendour and beauty. As I shall describe them hereafter, I shall only observe in this place, that the magnificent front presented by the two mountains, Tom and Holyoke, with the fine opening between them, limited by the Lyme range at the distance of thirty miles, forms an assemblage not less delightful than singular; and that Round Hill, the summit of an elevation terminating in the centre of the town, a summit finely regular, crowned with a noble grove, and exhibiting immediately beneath the grove three elegant houses, is inferior to no objects of the same kind in New-England.

A great deal of mechanical and mercantile business is done in Northampton. The most considerable manufactory of duck, and of coarse linen cloth in the United States, is established here; as is also a large and well-contrived tannery, on a capital of 100,000 dollars. There are two printing-offices, a paper-mill, a book-store, &c.

The agriculture is moderately good. Until within a few years many of the farmers appeared to decline in industry and enterprise. Since that period their efforts have been more considerable and more successful. Their industry, however, like that of many other places on this river, is rather easy than toilsome, and much less strenuous than that of the people on the hills. Until the year 1760, their agriculture was almost entirely confined to the town plot and the intervals between that and the river. Before that period there was not a single house between this town and Crown Point. For more than one hundred years no field could be cleared, and no labour done with safety, even in the nearest forested grounds. The attacks of the Canadians and savages were made at times and places where they were least expected, and the unfortunate labourer was sometimes shot, where he supposed even an Indian enemy would never venture.

For a long time Northampton was remarkably free from litigation. My grandfather used to boast, that in eighteen years of his life, in which he was in full practice as a lawyer, not a single suit was commenced against any one of the inhabitants. I have been also informed, though I will not vouch for the correctness of the information, that before the revolutionary war no inhabitant sued another for debt.

Their manners still resemble those of their ancestors, but have been changed in many respects, and not always for the better, since the commencement of the American revolution.

Northampton contains one parish, and scarcely has there at any time been a dissentient from the New-England system of religion. Probably no people were ever more punctual in their attendance on public worship than they were for one hundred and thirty years from the first settlement. Fourteen hundred and sixty persons were once counted in the church on a sabbath afternoon, amounting to five-sixths of the inhabitants. During a great part of this period, religion has flourished in an eminent degree. The present generation are certainly less distinguished in this respect than those, who have preceded them. Yet within a few years, religion has prospered extensively, both here and in many other parts of this county. The increase of wealth, the influx of strangers, and other causes of degeneracy, have sensibly and unhappily affected a considerable number of the inhabitants.

But notwithstanding this declension, religion and morals are generally holden in an honourable estimation. A general love of order prevails; a general submission to laws and magistrates; a general regularity of life; a general harmony and good neighbourhood; a sober industry and frugality; a general hospitality and charity. Whenever a person has had the misfortune to have his house or barn burnt, it may, I think, be considered as having been a standing custom in this town for the inhabitants to raise, and in most instances to finish, a new house or barn for him. This custom still substantially prevails, and exists extensively in other parts of New-England.

The people of Northampton have always been particularly friendly to learning. More than one hundred of its youths had, many years since, been liberally educated.

Several men have lived here who were persons of much distinction. The Rev. Solomon Stoddard, the second minister, possessed, probably, more influence than any other clergyman in the province, during a period of thirty years. Here he was regarded with a reverence which will scarcely be rendered to any other man. The very savages are said to have felt towards him a peculiar awe. Once, when he was riding from Northampton to Hatfield, and passing a place called Dewey's

Hole, an ambush of savages lined the road. It is said, that a Frenchman, directing his gun towards him, was warned by one of the Indians, who some time before had been among the English, not to fire; because "that man was Englishman's God." A similar adventure is reported to have befallen him, while meditating, in an orchard immediately behind the church in Deerfield, a sermon which he was about to preach. These stories, told in Canada, are traditionarily asserted to have been brought back by English captives. It was customary for the Canadian savages, after they had returned from their excursions, to report their adventures, by way of triumph, to the captives taken in the English colonies. Among the works which Mr. Stoddard published, his "Guide to Christ," and his "Safety of appearing in the Righteousness of Christ," have ever been held in respectful estimation.

The Hon. John Stoddard, son of this gentleman, was born about the year 1681, and was educated, as his father had been, at Harvard college. As he was of a grave, reserved disposition, he was not believed to possess any peculiar talents, until he began to appear in public life. From that time he grew rapidly into high estimation. In the year 1713 he was sent as a commissary to Quebec, to negociate the redemption of prisoners taken from New-England. This delicate and very important commission he executed in such a manner as to recommend himself highly to the governor of Canada, and to produce a general satisfaction throughout his own country. His influence, derived from his unquestionable integrity, firm patriotism, and pre-eminent wisdom, was for many years without a rival in his native province. Governor Hutchinson says, that "he shone only in great affairs, while inferior matters were frequently carried against his mind by the little arts and crafts of minute politicians, which he disdained to defeat by counterworking." His political principles were considered by some persons as too rigid. Yet, as the same respectable writer observes, "few men have been more generally esteemed." No man in Massachusetts-Bay possessed the same weight of character during the last twenty years of his life; and it may be said, almost literally, that "after him men spake not again." The following anecdote strongly illustrates the truth of these observations. Once, when Governor Shirley had a party

dining with him, a servant came into the room and informed the governor, that a gentleman at the gate wished to speak with him. "Ask the gentleman to come in," said the governor. "I did, Sir," said the servant, "but he said that he could not stay." The company were not a little surprised, nor less indignant, at behaviour which they thought so disrespectful to the chief magistrate. "What is the gentleman's name?" said the governor. "I think," said the servant, "he told me that his name was Stoddard." "Is it?" said the governor. "Excuse me, gentlemen; if it is Colonel Stoddard, I must go to him." Probably no man understood equally well the affairs and interests of the colonies, particularly of Massachusetts'-Bay. In his native town and county he was greatly beloved, both for his public and private virtues, particularly for his piety and beneficence. The civil and military concerns of this county, then a frontier, were for a long time under his supreme control, and were managed with admirable skill and success. Once he was very near being killed by an ambush of savages, who lay in wait for him at a farm which he had about a mile west of Northampton. One of his labourers was, I believe, slain; but he with the rest escaped.

He died at Boston, June 19th, 1748, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

In a sermon preached on the death of this distinguished man, by President Edwards, a very high and honourable character is given of him, which I would willingly transcribe, if its length did not forbid. To every man in public office, especially to those in high public offices, it would be the best manual within my knowledge, but I can only abridge a small part of it. "As to his natural abilities," says President Edwards, "strength of reason, greatness and clearness of discerning, and depth of penetration, he was one of the first rank. It may be doubted whether he has left his superior in these respects in these parts of the world. He was a man of a truly great genius, and his genius was peculiarly fitted for the understanding and managing of public affairs. And as his natural capacity was great, so was the knowledge which he had acquired. He had indeed a great insight into the nature of public societies, and the mysteries of government, and the affairs of peace and war. He was quick in discerning, yet had a

wonderful faculty of improving his own thoughts by meditation, and a talent almost unrivalled of communicating them to every one's understanding.

"He was probably one of the ablest politicians that ever New-England bred. He had a very uncommon insight into human nature, and a marvellous ability to penetrate into the particular tempers and dispositions of those with whom he had to deal. Never, perhaps, was there a person who had a more thorough knowledge of the state of this land and its public affairs. He had also an extensive acquaintance with the neighbouring colonies, and the neighbouring nations on the continent. He had a far greater knowledge than any other person in the land, of the several nations of Indians in these northern parts of America, their tempers, manners, and the proper way of treating them, and was more extensively known by them than any other person in this country.

"I have often been surprised at his ability to foresee and determine the consequences of things, even at a great distance, and beyond the sight of other men. But, notwithstanding his great abilities, he was glad to improve by conversation with others, and often spoke of the great advantage which he found by it. Yet, when on mature consideration he had settled his judgment, he was not easily turned from it.

"He had also a great degree of understanding in things belonging to Christianity, and I scarce knew the divine whom I ever found more able to enlighten the mind in cases of conscience.

"The greatness and honourableness of his disposition was answerable to the largeness of his understanding. In this respect he was truly the son of nobles. How far was he from trifling in his conversation, from a meddling disposition, from clandestine management, from taking advantage of the ignorance, necessity, or dependence of others, and from favouring any man in his cause! How greatly did he abhor lying and prevaricating, and how immoveably stedfast was he to exact truth! Such was his hatred of what was mean and sordid, that persons concerned in any thing of that nature dreaded to appear in his presence.

"He was eminently endowed with a spirit of government. The God of Nature seemed to have formed him for govern-

ment, as though he had been made on purpose, and cast into a mould, by which he should be every way fitted for the business of a man in public authority. He did not bear the sword in vain, but was a terror to evil doers. What I saw in him often put me in mind of the saying of the wise man, "The king that sitteth on the throne of judgment scattereth away all evil with his eyes."

"But though he was exalted above others in greatness and abilities of mind, and feared not the faces of men, yet he feared God. I never knew the man who seemed more immoveably to act from principle. He was eminently just and faithful, and this has been acknowledged by some of his greatest opponents. He was remarkably faithful in his public trusts, however or by whomsoever he might be opposed or neglected. Equally faithful was he in private affairs, a most faithful friend, counsellor, and assistant.

"His temperance was unalterable, whatever might be the place, the company, or the temptation.

"Though he was a man of great spirit, yet he had a remarkable government, both of his spirit and his tongue. Amid all the provocation, opposition, and reproaches which he met with, no vain, rash, unseemly speeches could be imputed to him by his enemies.

"He was thoroughly established in the doctrines of grace, and had a great detestation of the opposite errors of the present fashionable divinity, as contrary to the word of God, and the experience of every true Christian. He abhorred profaneness, ever treated sacred things with reverence, and was exemplary for his decent attendance on the public worship of God.

"Upon the whole, every thing in him was great; and perhaps there was never a man in New-England, to whom the denomination of a great man did more properly belong."

Mr. Stoddard, the father, died at Northampton in the 86th year of his age, and in the 57th of his ministry.

Mr. Stoddard had for his colleague and successor, Mr. Edwards, afterwards president of Nassau hall, or, as it is more generally styled, the college at Princeton. The writings and life of this gentleman are so well known, both in America and Europe, that it is unnecessary for me here to give his character.

His son, the Rev. Doctor Edwards, president of Union college, at Schenectady, is considered extensively in this country as not inferior to his father, either as a logician or a divine.

The late Hon. Joseph Hawley, grandson of Mr. Stoddard, was one of the ablest and most influential men in Massachusetts' Bay for a considerable period before the revolution: an event, in which few men had more efficiency. This gentleman was a very able advocate. Many men have spoken with more elegance and grace—I never heard one speak with more force. His mind, like his eloquence, was grave, austere, and powerful. At times he was deeply hypocondriacal.

His Excellency Caleb Strong, governor of this state, is a native and inhabitant of Northampton, as was also the late Judge Strong, of Amherst*.

It is a remarkable fact, that New-England was colonized in a manner widely different from that which prevailed in the other British colonies. All the ancient, and a great part of the modern townships, were settled in what may be called the village manner; the inhabitants having originally planted themselves in small towns. In many other parts of this country the planters have almost universally fixed themselves on their several farms, each placing his house where his own convenience dictated. In this manner, it is evident the farmer can more advantageously manage his property, can oversee it more readily, and labour on it with fewer interruptions, than when it is dispersed in fields at some distance from each other.

But scattered plantations are subject to many serious disadvantages. Neither schools nor churches can, without difficulty, be either built by the planters or supported. The children must be too remote from the school, and the families from the church, not to discourage all strenuous efforts to provide these interesting accommodations. Whenever it is proposed to erect either of them, the thought that one's self, and one's family, are too distant from the spot to derive any material benefit, will check the feeble relentings of avarice, the more liberal dispositions of frugality, and even the noble designs of a generous disposition. Should all the first difficulties be

* For the character of this gentleman, see the conclusion of the journey to the Canada Line.

overcome, trifling infirmities, foul weather, and the ill state of roads, will prevent a regular attendance. But the family, or the children, who do not go with some good degree of regularity to the church or the school, will in the end scarcely go at all. The education of the one, and the religion of both, will therefore in many cases be prevented.

At the same time, persons who live on scattered plantations are in a great measure cut off from that daily intercourse which softens and polishes man. When we live at a distance from every neighbour, a call demands an effort, and a visit becomes a formal enterprise. A family, thus situated, must in a great measure be confined to its own little circle of domestic objects, and wrought insensibly into an insulated character. At the sight of a stranger the children, having been unaccustomed to such an object, are abashed, and the parents awkward and uneasy. That which generally gives pain will be regarded with apprehension, and repeated only from necessity. Social intercourse, therefore, exercised too little to begin to be pleasant, will be considered as an incumbrance; and the affections which cherish it, and which it cherishes and refines in its turn, will either sleep or expire. The gentle and pleasing manners, naturally growing out of it, can never be formed here. On the contrary, that rough and forbidding deportment, which springs from intercourse with oxen and horses, or with those who converse only to make bargains about oxen and horses, a rustic sheepishness, or a more awkward and provoking impudence, take possession of the man, and manifest their dominion in his conduct. The state of the manners, and that of the mind, are mutually causes and effects. The mind, like the manners, will be distant, rough, forbidding, gross, solitary, and universally disagreeable. A nation, planted in this manner, can scarcely be more than half civilized; and to refinement of character and life must necessarily be a stranger.

In such settlements schools are accordingly few and solitary; and a great multitude of the inhabitants, of both sexes, are unable either to write or read. Churches are still more rare; and the number of persons is usually not small, who have hardly ever been present either at a prayer or a sermon. Unaccustomed to objects of this nature, they neither wish for

them, nor know what they are. The preachers whom they hear are, at the same time, very frequently uneducated itinerants, started into the desk by the spirit of propagandism; recommended by nothing but enthusiasm and zeal; unable to teach, and often even to learn. In such a situation, what can the character and manners become, unless such as have been described?

A New-Englander, passing through such settlements, is irresistibly struck with a wide difference between their inhabitants and those of his own country. The scene is changed at once. That intelligence and sociality, that softness and refinement, which prevail among even the plain people of New-England, disappear. That repulsive character, which, as Lord Kaimes has remarked, is an original feature of savage man; intelligence bounded by the farm, the market, and the road which leads to it; affections so rarely moved as scarcely to be capable of being moved at all, unless when roused to resentment; conversation confined to the properties and price of a horse, or the sale of a load of wheat; ignorance, at fifty years of age, of what is familiarly known by every New-England school-boy; wonder, excited by mere common home-spun things, because they are novelties; a stagnant indifference about other things, equally common, and of high importance, because they are unknown; an entire vacancy of sentiment, and a sterility of mind, out of which sentiment can never spring; all spread over a great proportion of the inhabitants, make him feel as if he were transported to a distant climate, and as if he were travelling in a foreign country.

New-England presents a direct contrast to this picture. Almost the whole country is covered with villages; and every village has its church and its suit of schools. Nearly every child, even those of beggars and blacks in considerable numbers, can read, write, and keep accounts. Every child is carried to the church from the cradle, nor leaves the church but for the grave. All the people are neighbours; social beings; converse; feel; sympathize; mingle minds; cherish sentiments; and are subjects of at least some degree of refinement. More than six hundred youths, natives of New-England, are always in the colleges erected here. In almost every village are found literary men, and social libraries. A

great number of men also, not liberally educated, addict themselves to reading, and acquire extensive information. Of all these advantages the mode of settlement has been one, and, it is believed, a powerful cause. Even the scattered plantations in New-England have retained in a great measure the national characteristics of their country. Those by whom these plantations were formed had their education in the villages; and when they emigrated, were too far advanced in life to relinquish their character and habits. Accordingly they built churches and schools, and in the midst of various difficulties maintained the same social intercourse.

This mode of settling in villages resulted partly from the original habits of the New-England colonists, and partly from the danger with which they were threatened by the surrounding savages. Happily for their descendants, these circumstances collected them in such bodies, and thus originated a variety of blessings, without which life, even in the most desirable climate, is to a great extent destitute both of usefulness and enjoyment.

Northampton never suffered very severely from the Indians. From those within the town itself they never suffered at all. These Indians they defended, and were defended by them in their turn. The town was several times invaded; and once a formidable army advanced into its centre. But the inhabitants secured themselves in their fortified houses until assistance arrived. Although this was a frontier settlement for more than one hundred years, and the savages prowled around it throughout that long period, it was never destroyed. Two small plantations within its limits, called Pascommuc, and Nashawannuc, were however burnt; and the unfortunate inhabitants either butchered, or carried into captivity.

Until the erection of the dam across Connecticut river, at South Hadley, perhaps no town in New-England was healthier than Northampton. A number of years since, immediately after an uncommon mortality among aged people, in which fourteen persons, who had passed seventy years, had died within a short time, there were living in this town more than sixty persons above seventy; and, including them, more than one hundred and twenty above sixty years of age. The town at that time contained about sixteen hundred people. I have

in a former Letter mentioned the peculiar health of this town, as it appears on a register of births and deaths, kept here for thirty years. The facts, then mentioned, are generally descriptive of the state of health, yet they are undoubtedly to be considered as favourable. At other periods the accounts, if true, would be less so; yet the whole history, taken together, would, independently of the effects of the dam, produce very advantageous apprehensions of the healthiness of this place. The proportion of deaths annually is about one to eighty, ninety, and an hundred. Even epidemics, which visit almost all places, have been rare here, and hardly ever extensively fatal.

One specimen, both of longevity and multiplication, in a single family, deserves to be recorded. A married pair, of the name of Clark, had eleven children. One died, if I mistake not, in early life. Of the remaining ten, four lived to be above ninety, three above eighty, and three above seventy. Six of these were sons, and lived each with the wife of his youth more than fifty years. The youngest son died in the ninety-eighth year of his age. At the time of his death there had sprung from the original pair eleven hundred and forty-five persons, of whom nine hundred and sixty were still living.

In the year 1790, Northampton contained 242 dwelling-houses, and 1,628 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 2,190 inhabitants, and 289 dwelling-houses; and, in 1810, 2,631 inhabitants.

This town, until the last twenty years, has increased in its numbers very little. From a very early period its supernumerary population was employed in colonizing other places.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXXIV.

Northampton Records.

DEAR SIR;

THE history of any transactions in which the character of man, by means of uncommon circumstances, is exhibited in a peculiar light, is of course interesting to an inquisitive mind. The circumstances in which the colonists of New-England, especially those who planted the interior, found themselves, were in many respects singular. Man, stationed in a forest, at a distance from all his proper connections, except a few fellow-adventurers, encircled by savages, in the midst of difficulties, wants, dangers, and sufferings, precluded in a great measure from the benefit of all those arts, the assistants of all those artists, and all that social intercourse which have sweetened and softened life in its former periods; and again making his way slowly back to the same state, amid obstacles nearly insuperable, must differ greatly from the same being in cultivated regions, surrounded by all the arts, improvements, and enjoyments of life. Circumstances so different, and the state of society growing out of them, can scarcely be imagined by any man, who has not been a spectator of at least some of them. But the clearest and best exhibition which can be made of them will be found, whenever it can be obtained, in their own descriptions of their own situation. I will, therefore, present to you a short series of transactions and regulations, registered in the town records of Northampton, together with such observations and comments as I shall judge proper.

Should the subject, however, prove uninteresting to you, you will remember, that these Letters are designed for my own countrymen also; a part of whom will, I am persuaded, find a degree of entertainment in this little view of the early state of society in their own country.

A part of the story I shall be obliged to recite in my own words. Where I use the phraseology of the records, it will be distinguished by inverted commas.

The Indian name of Northampton was Nonotuck.

The first agreement between the planters was made October 3d, 1653.

The township was purchased and conveyed to John Pyncheon, Esq. for the planters, by Wawhillowa, Nenessahalant, Nassicohee, and four others (one of whom was a married woman), styled "the chief and proper owners," for one hundred fathom of wampum by tale, and ten coats (besides some small gifts) in hand paid to the sachems and owners, and for also plowing up sixteen acres of land on the east side of Quonnecticut river the ensuing summer: *viz.* 1654." Of course the purchase, though not dated, was made in 1653. These "all bargained for themselves, and the other owners by their consent." All the aborigines of this country, men and women alike, are owners of the lands on which they hunt or dwell. So far as my information extends, this property in lands, enjoyed by the Indian women, is a singular fact in the history of savage nations.

The legal grant of this tract was made to the planters, May 9th, 1654, by "John Pyncheon, Elizur Holyoke, and Samuel Chapin, commissioners for laying out Nonotuck, by the general court." The tract conveyed extended from South-Hadley falls to Hatfield, then a part of Hadley, about ten miles; and from the river westward, nine miles.

In this grant the Indian rights were completely secured; and the planters were obliged to purchase, and pay them to their satisfaction, before they could become proprietors. The original planters were twenty-one.

Capawonke, since called Little Pontius, a rich interval, now within Hatfield, containing eight or nine hundred acres, was sold to these planters, July 20th, 1657, by Lampancho, for fifty shillings, at two payments, "to his entire satisfaction."

In these two purchases you have a fair picture of Indian purchases in general. In the former, about ninety square miles were sold for one hundred fathom of wampum and ten coats, together with a few trifles of no great value. Within this tract were near five thousand acres of rich interval, worth

from three to four hundred thousand dollars at the present time. The whole tract furnished, in the year 1800, plentiful subsistence for 4,515 inhabitants, most of them in easy circumstances, and several of them affluent. In the latter case, eight or nine hundred acres of rich interval, worth at the present time from fifty to seventy thousand dollars, were purchased for fifty shillings sterling; and, of course, for less than a penny an acre. Still the price was fair and ample, more valuable to the Indian than any thing which he could get by keeping the land, or selling it to any other purchaser.

In 1656, "town's-men" (or select-men) were chosen. In 1657, three commissioners were chosen at a town-meeting "as a court to end small causes." This was, probably, the first effort to establish among them judicial proceedings. The court established, which consisted of discretionary arbitrators, was probably that which has existed among every civilized people in the early stages of their society.

March 18th, 1657, the people of Northampton employed an agent "to obtain a minister, and to devise means to prevent the excess of liquors and cider from coming to the town." Few public acts could more strongly mark the character of these people than this commission. They had been settled in this spot but three years, and were already solicitous to obtain a regular ministration of the ordinances of the Gospel. Planters of the best dispositions in modern times, although colonizing new townships in circumstances so much more advantageous, commonly wait many more years before they think of settling a minister. Whence this difference? With equal anxiety they endeavoured to prevent drunkenness, and the numerous immoralities which it draws in its train.

March 29th, 1658, they voted a rate, or tax, of thirty pounds sterling, to pay the town debts; and the following April ordered a ferry-boat to be built for common use, to be kept locked; the key to be lodged with a particular inhabitant, and returned by those who used it, within a given time, on penalty of half a crown.

These two facts I have stated, to shew the pecuniary circumstances of these people. I suppose their town debts, during the three preceding years, to have amounted only to this sum. The building of the boat appears plainly to have

been a considerable object. It could not have cost ten pounds sterling.

"January 4, 1658, The town voted to pay Mr. Mather twenty-five pounds for half a year, in good and merchantable pay, in wheat, in this place;" and granted eighty acres of land for the ministry.

"December 20, 1658, The town voted one hundred pounds to build a minister's house."

They ordered, also, at this time, that absentees and egressors from town meetings should pay a fine of one shilling, and, when any town officers were to be chosen, of half a crown, "for each defect."

Select-men were first chosen January 10th, 1658; as were also a constable and deputy constable. Conettiquot and Conetiquat, were names of Connecticut river in these records in 1653.

March 12th, 1658, "Voted Mr. Mather a salary of eighty pounds for one year." Forty acres of land were given him at the same time; and forty acres more to be for the use of the ministry for ever. Mr. Mather was the first minister. He was a son of Mr. Richard Mather, the first minister of Dorchester; and, being invited to Northampton, brought with him a considerable number of planters. Thus within four years from the first attempt to settle this town the inhabitants settled a minister, gave him twenty-five pounds sterling for preaching with them half a year; and at the commencement of the ensuing year voted him a salary of eighty pounds sterling. At the same time they gave him forty acres of land, and a house, which cost one hundred pounds sterling; and forty acres more for the use of the ministry.

In a subsequent article it is stated, that his salary was paid within the year in which it became due. Wheat was pitched upon as the standard of all their taxes in the year 1661, at three shillings and sixpence per bushel.

March 26th, 1661, it is stated, that a county court was held at Northampton.

July 12th, 1661, The town voted to build a meeting-house, forty-two feet square, for one hundred and fifty pounds.

August, 1661, militia officers were chosen, and a company of militia formed.

Their burying-place is stated to have been on the meeting-house hill until the end of October 1661.

I mention this as one proof, that burying in the centres of towns and parishes, and by the side of their churches, was originally the common custom of New-England. This custom plainly had its origin in the superstition of the Romish church, which attributed a kind of sanctity to a cemetery, consecrated by a clergyman. This very improper custom was, however, given up here within less than eight years.

December 23d, 1662, Mr. Joseph Elliot was unanimously invited to settle in the ministry; Mr. Mather's health having declined. His salary was fixed at fifty pounds. The forty acres of land, sequestered for the ministry, were given to him on condition of his accepting the call.

January 11th, 1663, the town voted to give Mr. Elliot eighty pounds, to build him a house, and sixty pounds a year.

The following is the recorded statement of the town taxes for 1663:—

	£.	s.	d.
For the meeting-house	115	8	9
Mr. Mather	70	9	2
Mr. Elliot	50	0	0.
Town charges	19	5	11
Country charges.	32	8	10"

Thus did this handful of people, the tenth year after their establishment in this wilderness, pay one hundred and twenty pounds sterling for the ministry of the Gospel during one year; a greater salary than their descendants have probably ever paid, till within the last ten years, even nominally; and worth in reality about three times as much as the greatest which they have ever paid. Yet three of the inhabitants could now pay the whole sum with less inconvenience than the whole town at that time. Few specimens of liberality, and attachment to religion, can be found in the world, of a more honourable nature. It is to be remembered, that these people were under no extraneous influence. Every thing was spontaneously done by every man.

Mr. Mather died in 1669. Mr. Elliot was settled at Guilford in Connecticut*.

* Mr. Elliot was second son to the Rev. John Elliot of Roxbury, the celebrated apostle of the Indians. By the Rev. Mr. Ruggles, in his manu-

They next invited Mr. Solomon Stoddard to settle with them in the ministry. After several proposals, they agreed to buy for him one hundred pounds worth of land, as an equivalent for twenty acres of good ploughing and mowing land, lying on the great interval, and engaged to him by a former vote. This indicates, that this land was worth five pounds sterling an acre, although it had been bought fifteen years before for a penny an acre. They also agreed to give him one hundred pounds to build a house, and the use of the land sequestered for the ministry, until it should be paid. They voted also, "to give Mr. Stoddard a home-lot of four acres, if he pleases." All these acts are strong specimens of the same spirit. The language in which the last is expressed, is nearly a ludicrous proof of their attachment to this gentleman.

In the year 1726, they invited Mr. Jonathan Edwards to assist Mr. Stoddard in the work of the ministry; and the following November gave him a call to settle with them. They then voted to give him ten acres of pasture land, a little more than a mile from the church; forty acres of valuable land, at the distance of five miles; "three hundred pounds settlement; and more, if necessary to accommodate him;" and one hundred pounds salary. To the settlement they afterwards added eighty pounds. The exact value of the currency, at this time, I am unable to ascertain.

The manner in which they regarded learning was not very different.

In 1663, they employed a schoolmaster at six pounds, and the benefit of the scholars. In other words, he received the whole price of the tuition, and six pounds sterling as an additional sum, paid by the town. In 1670, they sequestered one hundred acres of land for the use of the school. They voted also to give a schoolmaster, able and fit to teach children to read and write English, and to keep and cast accounts, thirty pounds per annum.

In 1686, they voted their schoolmaster forty pounds for

script History of Guildford, he is called "the renowned Mr. Joseph Elliot, and a pastor after God's own heart." He was ordained in 1664 or 1665. The church and town prospered greatly under his ministry.

"After this burning and shining light," says Mr. Ruggles, "had ministered to this good people about thirty years, he deceased, to the inexpressible grief of his beloved flock, May 24th, 1694."

keeping the school one year. In 1687, they voted to employ a grammar schoolmaster, with a salary of twenty pounds, beside what was paid by the scholars. In 1703, the inhabitants made the English school free to all the children in the town. In 1712, they voted to maintain a grammar-school through the twenty years ensuing. In 1725, they made the salary of their English schoolmaster forty-five pounds. From the year 1712 it is believed that a grammar-school has been kept, without any material intermission, to the present time. The salary of a grammar-schoolmaster is now from four to five hundred dollars. You will remember, that all along, when these liberal efforts were made for the promotion of learning and religion, the inhabitants were comparatively few, poor, obliged to go through the expensive and laborious work of clearing a wilderness, inclosing their fields, building houses and barns for themselves, a church for the worship of God, a house for their minister, and bridges over their mill-streams; and to make roads, in connection with Springfield and Hadley, to these towns and to Windsor. Their only passage to Boston was, in the mean time, a horse-path, winding through Lancaster, on the north side of the county of Worcester. The first road to Hadley was ordered to be laid out in 1663. Hadley lies immediately across Connecticut river, and is only three miles from Northampton. They had then had a minister more than four years. The first road was laid to Windsor in the spring of 1664. Yet this was their only passage to market. Their first bridge over Mill river, a stream running through the middle of their town, was voted in 1661. The first bridge over Munhan river, a mill-stream, three miles south of their church, was voted in 1668. At the same time, they paid their taxes at Charlestown first, and afterwards at Boston, in wheat. This was conveyed to Hartford, in carts or waggons, and there shipped for Boston. There is one account only of their expense in a transaction of this nature recorded. In this instance they were obliged to pay one-third of the cargo for the transportation from Hartford to Charlestown. At the same time they were obliged always to be guarded, and often with very great expense, against the inroads of the savages, and afterwards of the Canadians. With

the Indians of Nonotuc they appear to have lived in very great harmony, and there is not even a traditionary story of any quarrel between them and the people of Northampton. But, after Philip's war commenced, they were perpetually in danger. In 1675, a guard was kept continually. In 1676, it consisted of fifty soldiers. Several of the inhabitants had their houses burnt. To each of these they gave a piece of land in the town, to build upon. The houses burnt were, I suppose, on the skirts of the town. In 1677, they fortified their meeting-house. March 5th, 1790, they ordered a fortification to be run quite round the town. This was in the time of what was called King William's war; and this year several towns in the colonies were burnt by the French and savages. In 1706, they had several garrisons. In 1745, the town was ordered to be fortified anew. In 1746, watch-houses were ordered to be built, and dwelling-houses were ordered to be fortified. Fortified houses existed among them from the beginning. My grandmother informed me, that in the year 1704, she herself, then a child of eleven years, was in a fortified house, or, as it was then vulgarly called, a house which was forted, standing near the church. The town was then invaded, and she saw through the port-holes the French and Indians, to the number, as was computed, of five hundred, assembled in the lot on which this house stood, for the purpose of taking the house. By her I was informed, also, that one house was fortified within every little neighbourhood, that the inhabitants might retire to it in every case of alarm, and be safe, because their refuge was near. These fortifications must all have been expensive. Those which were erected round the town were palisadoes*, set up in the earth, thrown out of a trench, and must, from their great extent, have involved an expense scarcely supportable.

Their mode of treating the Indians is strongly visible in the care with which they secured the rights of that people in their first purchase, and in the uniform harmony in which they lived with them. The Indians were always considered as having a right to dwell and to hunt within the lands which they had sold.

* See Hubbard, page 205, Worcester edition.

In the year 1664, they requested leave of the people of Northampton to build themselves a fort within the town. Leave was granted on these conditions:—

"That the Indians do not work, game, or carry burthens, within the town on the sabbath; nor powaw here, or anywhere else.

"Nor get liquor, nor cider, nor get drunk.

"Nor admit Indians from without the town.

"Nor break down the fences of the inhabitants.

"Nor let cattle or swine upon their fields, but go over a stile at one place.

"Nor admit among them the murderers Calawane, Wuttowhan, and Pacquallant.

"Nor hunt, nor kill cattle, sheep, or swine, with their dogs."

There is, in these conditions, if I mistake not, an attention to the sobriety and morality of the Indians, which, in a similar case, would be little thought of in any part of the civilized world at the present time.

This fort was built in the heart of the town, at the distance of, perhaps, thirty rods from the most populous street. The leave given to erect it shows the perfect confidence with which they regarded this people.

Of their politics there is little remaining on the records. There is, however, a single vote, strongly expressive of the feelings with which they regarded foreigners.

In 1663, three acres of land were granted to Cornelius the Irishman; providing, however, that he should not "be capable of acting in any town affairs." Had the inhabitants of this country universally acted with the same prudence since the revolution, it would have saved them a train of evils of which it is difficult for any mind to comprehend the amount, or predict the termination.

In May 21st, 1689, they voted unanimously, as well as very cautiously, that "the governor, deputy governor, and assistants, chosen in May, 1686, re-assume their former power for the year ensuing, unless lorders come from England to the contrary." The preceding April, intelligence had arrived of the abdication of King James II, and of the succession of William

and Mary to the throne. Sir Edmund Andros had been seized by the inhabitants of Boston and the surrounding country, and the people had resumed the reins of government according to their original charter.

I know not, that you will thank me for giving you this picture of an early New-England settlement in its infant state.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXXV.

Hadley. Governor Hopkins's Donation. Goffe and Whalley. Prospect from Mount Holyoke.

DEAR SIR;

TUESDAY, September 27th, we left Northampton, and crossed the river to Hadley*.

Hadley lies three miles north-east from Northampton, one and a half south of Hatfield, and ninety directly west from Boston. The river, immediately above the town, leaving its general course, turns north-west, then, after winding to the south again, turns directly east; and thus, having wandered five miles, encloses, except on the east, a beautiful interval, containing between two and three thousand acres. On the isthmus of this peninsula lies the principal street; the handsomest by nature in New-England. It is a mile in length, running directly north and south; is sixteen rods in breadth; is nearly a perfect level; is covered during the fine season with a rich verdure; abuts at both ends on the river, and yields everywhere a delightful prospect. The modern-built houses on this street are generally good. A considerable number, however, are ancient, and, having been better built than a great part of those which were erected throughout New-England in early periods, have been prudently preserved. The church is a handsome structure, superior to any other in this county†.

This town furnishes its inhabitants with almost every advantage for farming. Beside the fine interval already mentioned, which extends a fourth of a mile eastward of the principal street, there are at least two thousand acres more of the same

* There is now (1810) a good bridge over the Connecticut between Northampton and Hadley.

† 1810.

fertile land delightful grounds within the township. Mount Holyoke and Mount Warner yield an inexhaustible supply of wood, and an extensive plain east of the town furnishes the inhabitants with copious supplies of grain, pasture, and rich crops of clover. Of these advantages, particularly since the revolution, they have effectually availed themselves. Few places exhibit a more vigorous, enterprising, or improved husbandry. The use of gypsum alone has wonderfully meliorated their crops on the plain, mentioned above, and enhanced the price of the land seven or eight hundred per cent. within a small number of years. Indeed the farmers of Hadley, Hatfield, and Deerfield, are superior to those of any other townships in this county. It is unnecessary to add, that they are in prosperous circumstances.

The people of Hadley constitute a single Presbyterian congregation, and have long been distinguished for their steady attachment to good order and government. At the revolution every man was in the American interest; every man opposed the insurrections and mobs which disturbed this county during the war, and every man voted for the adoption of the present form of government in Massachusetts.

The Hon. Edward Hopkins, who was for some time governor of the colony of Connecticut, and one of the original purchasers of the colony of New-Haven, left his estate in New-England to a collegiate school, to be founded within the last mentioned colony, together with five hundred pounds sterling out of his estate in England, to be applied, as I apprehend, to the same purpose. Indeed, if we remember that Governor Hopkins was governor of Connecticut, the son-in-law of Governor Eaton, the particular friend of Mr. Davenport, and an original purchaser of New-Haven; and if we compare the words of his will with those of a letter which he wrote the preceding year to Mr. Davenport, there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that he designed this sum also for the same object. The five hundred pounds came, however (I will not here inquire by what means), into the possession of Harvard college. The estate in America, which was worth at least one thousand pounds, was split up into three parts by Mr. Davenport, Mr. Cullick, and Mr. Goodwin, and became the foundation of three grammar schools, one at New-Haven, one at Hart-

ford, and the other at Hadley. Thus was the largest private benefaction, ever destined for a college in Connecticut, entirely prevented from contributing at all to the promotion of the design for which it was given.

In this town resided for fifteen or sixteen years the celebrated regicides, Goffe and Whalley. They came hither in the year 1654, and lived in the house of the Rev. Mr. Russell, the minister. Whalley died in his house. Some years since the house was pulled down by Mr. Gaylord, the proprietor, and the bones of Whalley were found buried, just without the cellar wall, in a kind of tomb formed of mason work, and covered with flags of hewn stone*. After his decease Goffe quitted Hadley; went into Connecticut, and afterwards, according to tradition, to the neighbourhood of New-York. Here he is said to have lived some time; and, the better to disguise himself, to have carried vegetables at times to market. It is said, that, having been discovered here, he retired secretly to the colony of Rhode-Island, and there lived with a son of Whalley during the remainder of his life.

The following story has been traditionally conveyed down among the inhabitants of Hadley.

In the course of Philip's war, which involved almost all the Indian tribes in New-England, and among others those in the neighbourhood of this town, the inhabitants thought it proper to observe the 1st of September, 1675, as a day of fasting and prayer. While they were in the church, and employed in their worship, they were surprised by a band of savages. The people instantly betook themselves to their arms, which, according to the custom of the times, they had carried with them to the church, and, rushing out of the house, attacked their invaders. The panic, under which they began the conflict, was however so great, and their number was so disproportioned to that of their enemies, that they fought doubtfully at first, and in a short time began evidently to give way. At this moment an ancient man with hoary locks, of a most venerable and dignified aspect, and in a dress widely differing from that of the inhabitants, appeared suddenly at their head, and with a firm voice and an example of undaunted resolution, reani-

* This fact I had from Mr. Gaylord himself.

mated their spirits, led them again to the conflict, and totally routed the savages. When the battle was ended, the stranger disappeared; and no person knew whence he had come or whither he had gone. The relief was so timely, so sudden, so unexpected, and so providential; the appearance, and the retreat of him who furnished it were so unaccountable; his person was so dignified and commanding, his resolution so superior, and his interference so decisive; that the inhabitants, without any uncommon exercise of credulity, readily believed him to be an angel, sent by Heaven for their preservation. Nor was this opinion seriously controverted, until it was discovered several years afterward, that Goffe and Whalley had been lodged in the house of Mr. Russell. Then it was known that their deliverer was Goffe; Whalley having become superannuated some time before the event took place.

There is an obscure and very doubtful tradition, that Goffe, also, was buried here.

From Mount Holyoke*, on the southern side of this township, at the distance of three miles from the church, is seen the richest prospect in New-England, and not improbably in the United States. The mountain is about one thousand one hundred feet above the surface of the river; but in the place of ascent is of so gradual an acclivity, that two-thirds of the elevation may be easily gained on horseback. On the highest part of the summit, the inhabitants have cleared away the trees and shrubs, so as to open the prospect in the most advantageous manner. From this spot the eye is presented with a vast expansion to the south, comprehending the southern part of the county of Hampshire, and a portion of the State of Connecticut. The Middletown Mountains, the Blue Mountains at Southington, both at the distance of sixty miles, and the whole extent of the Connecticut valley to Middletown, together with the long ranges by which it is bordered, appear in full view. The variety of farms, fields, and forests, of

* This mountain is, by Douglass, in his maps, called the Hollyhocks, but it is an error. In the Northampton records it is styled, and spelt Mount Holyoke, May 12th, 1664. Mr. Elizur Holyoke was one of the commissioners for laying out Northampton in 1654. It is probable the mountain was named from this gentleman, whom I suppose to have been an inhabitant of Hadley. If not, he was an inhabitant of Springfield.

churches and villages, of hills and vallies, of mountains and plains, comprised in this scene, can neither be described nor imagined.

South-westward, Mount Tom with its various summits, a narrow range running in a direct line with Mount Holyoke, intercepts the prospect; and furnishes a fine substitute for more distant objects.

In the Connecticut valley, north of these mountains, expands a bason about twenty miles long from the north-east to the south-west, and about fifteen miles wide in the opposite direction, limited on the western side of the river by Mount Tom on the south, and the Green Mountains running in a circuitous direction on the western and northern border, and, on the eastern, by a semi-ellipsis, formed of Mount Holyoke, a part of the Lyme range, and Mount Toby, a commanding eminence, which shoots out as a spur near Connecticut river. Between the last mentioned height and the Green Mountains, rises on the western margin of the river the Sugar-loaf, a fine abrupt cone, the termination of Deerfield Mountain; with a noble vista on each side, opening into distant regions, gradually withdrawing from the sight. In this bason lie the townships of Northampton, South-Hampton, East-Hampton, West-Hampton, Hatfield, Williamsburg, and Whately, on the west; and Hadley, Amherst, Leverett, and Sunderland, on the east of the river. A great number of others are presented on the summits of the mountains and subjacent hills.

But the most exquisite scenery of the whole landscape is formed by the river, and its extended margin of beautiful intervals. The river turns four times to the east, and three times to the west, within twelve miles, and within that distance makes a progress of twenty-four. It is generally one-fourth of a mile wide: and its banks are beautifully alternated with a fringing of shrubs, green lawns, and lofty trees. The intervals, which in this view border it in continual succession, are fields containing from five hundred to five thousand acres, formed like terraced gardens; lowest near the river, and rising, as they recede from it, by regular gradations. These fields are distributed into an immense multitude of lots, separated only by imaginary lines, and devoted to all the various cultivation of the climate. Meadows are here seen, containing

from five to five hundred acres, interspersed with beautiful and lofty forest trees, rising everywhere at little distances, and at times with orchards, of considerable extent, and covered with exquisite verdure. Here spread, also, vast expansions of arable ground, in which the different lots exactly resemble garden-beds, distinguishable from each other only by the different kinds of vegetation, and exhibiting all its varied hues, from the dark green of the maize to the brilliant gold of the barley. One range of these lots is separated from another by a straight road, running like an alley, from one to two or three miles in length, with here and there a brook, or mill-stream, winding through the whole. A perfect neatness and brilliancy is everywhere diffused; without a neglected spot to tarnish the lustre, or excite a wish in the mind for a higher finish. All these objects united present here a collection of beauties, to which I know no parallel. When the eye traces this majestic stream, meandering with a singular course through these delightful fields, wandering in one place five miles to gain one, and in another four to gain seventy yards; enclosing, almost immediately beneath, an island of twenty acres, exquisite in its form and verdure, and adorned on the northern end with a beautiful grove; forcing its way between these mountains, exhibiting itself like a vast canal six or eight miles below them, and occasionally re-appearing at greater and greater distances in its passage to the ocean: when it marks the sprightly towns, which rise upon its banks, and the numerous churches, which gem the whole landscape in its neighbourhood: when it explores the lofty forests, wildly contrasted with the rich scene of cultivation, which it has just examined, and presenting all the varieties of woodland vegetation: when it ascends higher, and marks the perpetually varying and undulating arches of the hills, the points and crowns of the nearer and detached mountains, and the long-continued ranges of the more distant ones; particularly of the Green Mountains, receding northward beyond the reach of the eye: when, last of all, it fastens upon the Monadnoc in the north-east and in the north-west upon Saddle Mountain, ascending each at the distance of fifty miles in dim and misty grandeur, far above all the other objects in view: it will be difficult not to say, that with these exquisite varieties of beauty and grandeur the relish for landscape is filled; neither

a wish for higher perfection, nor an idea of what it is, remaining in the mind.

Among the interesting objects in this neighbourhood, the farm of Charles Phelps, Esq., about two miles north of this town, deserves the notice of a traveller. This estate lies on the eastern bank of Connecticut river, and contains about six hundred acres, of which about one hundred and fifty are interval, annually manured by the slime of the river. The rest consists partly of a rich plain, and partly of the sides and summit of Mount Warner, a beautiful hill in the neighbourhood.

The interval is universally meadow, and of the best quality. The remainder of the farm is remarkably well fitted for every kind of produce suited to the climate, abounds in pasture, and yields an inexhaustible supply of timber and fuel. It is also furnished with every other convenience. On one border are excellent mills, on another a river, furnishing a cheap transportation to market. It is intersected by two great roads, leading to Boston and to Hartford. A bridge crosses Connecticut river one fourth of a mile below the house. Within two miles is the church in Hadley. The country around it is highly improved; and the inhabitants inferior to those of few places, of the same extent, in their habits and character. The scenery, both near and distant, is eminently delightful: and within very convenient distances all the pleasures of refined and intelligent society may be easily enjoyed. In a word, this estate is the most desirable possession, of the same kind and extent, within my knowledge.

It is not my design to fill these Letters with descriptions of landscapes. Many of the European travellers have evidently trespassed in this way, and would have been more agreeable writers had they been less liberal of their garnishing, and furnished us to a greater extent with more solid entertainment. Some indulgence, I think, I may fairly claim: particularly, as the fine scenery of this country has never been described. Generally, however, I shall do little more than mention the prospects with which I am delighted. In some instances, I shall take the liberty to describe them. Should you think them wearisome, you can pass them over. You will not find me more egregiously taxing your patience, than many of the

European tourists tax mine in describing an endless succession of pictures. The excellence of these may be very great, and their appearance very charming to a spectator; but their readers can form no conceptions of them, beside such as are indistinct, obscure, and perplexing. I shall demand less of your time than they do, in telling an interminable tale of churches, palaces, and villas; the architecture of which, whether Grecian or Gothic, may indeed be very edifying to a builder, but cannot be comprehended by ninety-nine hundredths of their readers. Their science of this nature hardly reaches to the beauties of "cornice, frieze, volute, and scroll," or to the distinction between the Doric and Tuscan, the Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite orders; and they are obliged, perhaps, to thumb a dictionary, in order to find out the meaning even of the most familiar terms of the art. The scenery of nature has, at least, this advantage over the productions of art; that it may be described, can be comprehended by every man, and to the minds of many readers will communicate at least some degree of pleasure.

In the year 1790 Hadley contained 882 inhabitants, and 132 dwelling-houses; in the year 1800, it contained 142 houses, and 1,073 inhabitants; and, in the year 1810, 1,247 inhabitants.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXXVI.

Belchertown. Ware. Western. Brookfield: their Troubles from the Indians. Spencer. Leicester. Worcester.

DEAR SIR;

HAVING passed our time very pleasantly with our friends in this quarter, we pursued our journey on Thursday morning, September 29th, to Brookfield, thirty miles, through Amherst, Belchertown, Ware, Palmer, and Western. The road for the first nine miles was good. The remainder, crossing the Lyme range, was generally mountainous, stony, and disagreeable. We passed only through the southern skirt of Amherst. That part of it, which is visible from the road, is one of the most beautifully undulating countries in the world. I shall have occasion to mention it hereafter.

Belchertown is the first township on the hills in this region. The surface is rather pleasant, and the hills of an easy acclivity. The soil is loam, mixed with gravel, replenished with stones, and of difficult and expensive cultivation. The fertility is of the middle degree; and the produce of all the kinds suited to the climate. The inhabitants are chiefly settled in plantations. There is, however, a small and very decent village in the neighbourhood of the church.

The inhabitants of Belchertown were formerly not a little injured by litigation and ecclesiastical disputes. It is to be hoped that the present generation have become wiser. They form one Presbyterian congregation, and two of Baptists, both of them small.

In this town thunder-storms are frequent and severe. Those, whose general direction would carry them farther north, when they reach the Lyme range, bend their course to the southward. Those, also, which would naturally pass somewhat farther south, are turned northward by Mount Holyoke · the

two ranges meeting in this town. Not unfrequently storms moving in these different directions unite here, and exhibit phenomena particularly terrifying.

This town derived its name from Governor Belcher. It was incorporated in 1761, and contained, in 1790, 238 houses, and 1,485 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,878 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,270.

Ware borders on Belchertown south-eastward. Its soil is generally of a very inferior quality. A traveller, formerly passing through this town, observed, that he thought the land was like self-righteousness, for the more a man had of it the poorer he must be.

The hills are high, rough, and steep; the forests extensively yellow pine, and the soil light and lean. A few of the houses are decent, but a great proportion of those which we saw were small and indifferent in their appearance. Other parts of the township may, however, deserve a more favourable character. The inhabitants form a single congregation; a word which I shall hereafter use as equivalent to a Presbyterian congregation, and amounted in 1790 to 773, occupying 116 houses; in 1800, to 997, inhabiting 158 houses; and, in 1810, to 996.

After leaving Ware we passed through a skirt of Ludlow and Palmer, but saw nothing of either, except a lean, yellow-pine plain, and a few scattered houses, of an unpromising appearance.

Western was formerly a part of Brookfield, Brimfield, and Palmer, and was incorporated in the year 1741. It lies on the eastern part of the Lyme range. The hills are high, and the vallies, particularly along the river Quaboag, deep; the soil the same with that of Belchertown, and more productive of grass than of grain. Both these townships abound in fruit of various kinds; a fact so common, however, as scarcely to deserve notice.

The scenery along this part of the river Quaboag is wild, solitary, and not a little romantic. The road for a considerable distance lies on the declivity of the mountains. Above ascends a steep, rude acclivity; below descends a precipice, nearly perpendicular, from one hundred to three hundred feet. At the bottom, the river, here a fine sparkling stream, makes de-

lightful music, as it murmurs over its rocky bed. Gloomy mountains limit the view on the opposite side.

There are in this township two grist-mills, a saw-mill, a scythe-manufactory, a fulling-mill, and a forge. It contains iron ore. The silk-worm has been successfully cultivated by some of the inhabitants. From thirty mulberry trees, Colonel Joseph Jones, for several years, fed annually thirty thousand silk-worms, which yielded silk of an excellent quality, and a net profit of sixty dollars yearly.

In the year 1790, the inhabitants of Western were in number 899, their houses 124. In 1800 it contained 133 dwelling-houses, and 979 inhabitants. In 1810, 1,014.

The people of Western have the reputation of being sober, industrious, prudent, and thrifty.

After leaving Western, we descended into a more agreeable country. Partly on the eastern side of these hills, and partly in the expansion at their foot, interrupted by several smaller eminences, lies the town of Brookfield. The grant of this township was made in the year 1660, so that it is the third settlement in the county of Worcester. The grantees were inhabitants of Ipswich. In 1673, the date of its incorporation, it was in the centre of an extensive wilderness; the nearest settlements, Hadley and Springfield on the west, Lancaster and Marlborough on the east, being from thirty to thirty-five miles distant. The first settlers, therefore, were exposed in the most naked manner to the inroads of the savages.

Two years after their incorporation, Philip's war commenced. The Nipmucks, or, as they are sometimes called, Nipnets, resided about twenty miles from them to the south-east. This tribe of savages, united with some others, had murdered several persons, but soon after professed themselves willing to renew their former friendship with the colonists. A meeting was accordingly agreed on between the parties, and the English messengers ventured out several miles to hold the proposed conference. The savages way-laid them, and shot eight of their number. Three were killed outright, three mortally wounded; and two, a Captain Wheeler and his son, not so severely as to prevent them from making their escape. The Indians followed them to the town, but the inhabitants, being

alarmed in season, fled to the principal house, which was rudely and imperfectly fortified with a barricado of logs, hastily raised against the walls, and beds hung on the outside. The savages burnt most of the remaining houses, barns, and out-houses, and assaulted this building with great violence in every mode of warfare with which they were acquainted. Two days and nights were spent in the attack without success, during which they had laboured very hard to set the house on fire. Finding, however, that all their efforts were unsuccessful, they at length loaded a cart with hay and other combustibles, brought it very near to the windward side of the house, and set the hay on fire. At that moment a shower of rain providentially extinguished the flame, and saved these unfortunate people, to the number of seventy, from an excruciating death. Before the savages were able to renew their attempts, a body of men from Groton and Lancaster, commanded by Major Willard, came to their relief. As they were approaching the town, the cattle belonging to the inhabitants, terrified by the noise and conflagration, gathered around this company, and moved with them, as if expecting protection from them, toward the ruins of Brookfield. The savages mistook the whole train for soldiers, and, having hastily set fire to the few remaining buildings, fled with precipitation.

Their buildings being thus destroyed, the inhabitants, by order of the government, removed to other settlements, and the town for several years was entirely deserted. A small company at length returned, and were gradually joined by others. They were not, however, suffered to rest in peace. These inroads were frequently repeated, and a considerable number of persons destroyed. To the survivors the circumstances in which they were placed rendered their lives, always hanging in suspense, until the year 1711, almost like a continual death. The alarm of invasion haunted them by day, and the war-whoop broke their sleep in the night. It was not until the year 1717 (forty-four years after the town was incorporated), that they were so far re-assembled as to be able to settle a minister.

The surface of Brookfield is undulating. The hills are of considerable height, and the vallies open. The soil is gene-

rally rich, and the inhabitants are in prosperous circumstances. The township contains three parishes*, and in each a pretty village. Although many of the houses are well built, yet there are many others of an indifferent appearance.

The river Quaboag in its passage through this township is a remarkably sluggish stream. There are also several small lakes and marshes in the vicinity. Yet the inhabitants are distinguished for health and longevity. A number of persons have died here who were about one hundred years of age. Mrs. Elizabeth Olds, who died in her ninety-second year, had ten children, seventy-three grandchildren, two hundred and one great-grandchildren, and two of the fourth generation, in all two hundred and eighty-six; two hundred and thirty-two of whom were living at her decease.

The people of Brookfield have always borne an honourable character for industry, sobriety, and sound morals. They are principally farmers. Several professional men have been always numbered among the inhabitants, and have, in some instances, acquired distinguished reputation. This character is due to some of the clergymen.

Efforts have been made to convert Brookfield into a shire, or half-shire town. In my opinion they were unwisely made. Should the design hereafter succeed, it will in all probability seriously lessen the industry, morals, and prosperity of the inhabitants.

In the year 1790, Brookfield contained 438 dwelling-houses, and 3,100 inhabitants; in 1800, 445 dwelling-houses, and 3,284 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 3,170.

From Brookfield we rode, on Friday, September 30th, to Marlborough, through Spencer, Leicester, Worcester, and Northborough; thirty-four miles. The road passes through an undulating country, and is of course very uneven; but is pretty well made. You may perhaps remember, that almost all the hills in the southern half of New-England run from north to south. All the roads therefore, which have an eastern and western direction are very remote from being level.

Spencer, the first of the townships through which we passed, was originally a parish of Leicester, and was incorporated in

* It has been lately divided into two townships.

1753. The surface has been already mentioned. The soil is fertile, but better fitted for grazing than arable purposes. The inhabitants are industrious, frugal, and flourishing; and are united in a single congregation. Mr. Eaton, their first minister, was highly respected by the churches of this country.

In 1790, Spencer contained 192 dwelling-houses, and 1,322 inhabitants; in 1800, it contained 196 dwelling-houses, and 1,433 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,453.

Leicester lies on the eastern border of Spencer, and was incorporated in the year 1720 or 1721. Its original English name was Strawberry-hill. The township is principally composed of lofty hills, with deep vallies between them. The hills are generally considered as the highest ground between Connecticut river and the shore. One stream from this township unites with Providence river, which meets the ocean at Newport. Another is a branch of the Quinebaug, which joins the Sound at New-London. A third empties its waters into the Connecticut, and is a branch of the Quaboag. The soil of Leicester is moist, cold, and tolerably good, but chiefly fitted for grazing. The township is settled in plantations. There is, however, a neat village on the road, near the church, containing a respectable academy.

By an academy, as the term is used in New-England, and generally throughout the United States, is intended a school, between a parochial school and a college, and approximating indefinitely towards either. In such a school are usually taught the English, Latin, Greek, and sometimes the French languages; reading with propriety, writing, speaking, composition, various branches of mathematical science, and sometimes logic and natural philosophy. No system has, however, been formed hitherto for the regulation of academies. A large proportion of those, who are destined to a liberal education, are here prepared for their admission into colleges. At the same time, multitudes, who never receive such an education, are furnished with the knowledge which qualifies them to enter upon various kinds of useful business.

Ebenezer Crafts, Esq. of Sturbridge, and Jacob Davis, Esq. of Charlton, laid the foundation of Leicester academy, by giving a convenient mansion-house, together with lands and other appurtenances. The town gave five hundred pounds

New-England currency, a fourth less than sterling. Several gentlemen gave between eight and nine hundred pounds more, and the legislature a township, six miles square, in the district of Maine. This school has obtained a good reputation, and is now kept in a pretty building, with a cupola rather awkwardly adjoined.

From several of these hills there is a very extensive, but not, in my view, a very pleasant prospect. Beauty of prospect demands not only amplitude, but variety. A continued succession of hills and vallies, scarcely distinguishable from each other in appearance, though less wearisome than the uniformity of a spacious plain, is still remote from that exquisite scenery which forms the fine landscape. The eye instinctively demands something more.

In the year 1790, Leicester contained 1,076 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 154 dwelling-houses, and 1,103 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,181.

Eastward of Leicester lies Worcester, the shire town of the county of Worcester. This township was incorporated in the year 1684. But in the year 1702 the Indians began a series of depredations, which forced the planters to abandon it. After several years the settlement commenced again in 1713, and has increased and prospered to the present time.

The surface is handsome; the hills are easier slopes, and moulded into a greater variety and beauty of forms; and the vallies are more open, extended, and elegant, than in the preceding parts of this county. The soil also appears to be richer, and better fitted for a variety of vegetation. The forest growth of this and all the preceding townships is oak, chesnut, hickory, &c., with interspersions of white and yellow pine.

The township of Worcester is, throughout, divided into farms, which wear a cheerful and prosperous aspect. The town is principally built on a single street, extending from east to west, about a mile and a half on the road. It is situated in a valley; and contains, as I judge, about 120 houses, generally well built, surrounded by neat fences, outhouses, and gardens; frequently handsome, and very rarely small, old, or unrepaired. Few towns in New-England exhibit so uniform an appearance of neatness and taste, or contain so great a pro-

portion of good buildings, and so small a proportion of those which are indifferent, as Worcester. There is probably more wealth in it also than in any other, which does not exceed it in dimensions and number of inhabitants. Its trade, considering its inland situation, is believed to be extensive and profitable. The number of public officers, professional men, merchants, and mechanics, is proportionally great, and produces a very lively appearance of activity and business.

There are in Worcester four grist-mills, four saw-mills, two fulling-mills, and a large paper-mill. The proprietors of the fulling-mills carry on the clothiers' business to a great extent, and with skill, supposed not to be excelled in the state. Scarlet and blue have for some time been dyed here in a superior manner.

On the subject of mills I wish you to observe, once for all, that I shall rarely mention them. There is scarcely a township in New-England which has not a complete set of grist-mills and saw-mills. Heylin, who wrote his Geography at the close of the seventeenth century, mentions the town of Reading as being advantageously built near a pond, and as being by this situation peculiarly fortunate in having "one mill for corn, and another for timber." A New-Englander cannot refrain from smiling at this account. There is, probably, no country in the world, where mill-streams are so numerously and universally dispersed, or grist-mills and saw-mills so universally erected, as in New-England. Conveniences of this kind may be said, almost if not quite, literally, to be furnished in abundance to every parish in the country. To reiterate this fact would be to take very effectual means for wearing out your patience.

There are three printing-offices in Worcester. Isaiah Thomas, Esq., the proprietor of one of them, has probably done as much printing business as any other man in New-England within the same period of time. He has printed a folio, a quarto, and an octavo edition of the Bible; and, I believe, was the first person in this country, who purchased a complete fount of standing types for printing the Bible in the duodecimo form. He has also published a considerable number of large and expensive works, together with a great multitude of smaller ones; and has for many years had a well fur-

nished book-store in this town. At the same time he is at the head of an extensive establishment of the same kind in Boston.

The public buildings are two churches, a court-house, a gaol, a school-house, and a bank. The court-house is built of brick, with two stories, and in a very pretty style. The lower story contains the county offices. The other contains the court-room and its accommodation. This building cost twenty thousand dollars, and is an honour to the county, at whose expense it was erected. The gaol is a stone building, sixty-four feet by thirty-two, and of three stories. The bank is a beautiful structure of three stories, exhibiting an union of simplicity and elegance, not often seen in this country. The school-house is also a good building. You will observe I make no mention of common school-houses, any more than of mills, because they also are endlessly numerous, and found everywhere.

Among the private buildings in this town, the house, erected by the late Gardiner Chandler, Esq., is one of the handsomest which I have met with in the interior of this country.

The manners of the well-bred people of Worcester are polished and respectable.

The family of Chandler, particularly the Hon. John Chandler, are remembered here with high respect, for distinguished talents and useful life.

The Indian name of Worcester was Quinsigamond.

In the year 1790, this township contained 2,095 inhabitants; in 1800, 306 dwelling-houses, and 2,411 inhabitants; and, in the year 1810, 2,577 inhabitants.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXXVII.

Shrewsbury. Hon. Artemas Ward. Northborough. Rabbi Judah Monis. County of Worcester. Its Surface, Fertility, Agriculture, and Productions. Failure in its Crops of Wheat. List of its Towns and Population.

DEAR SIR;

SHREWSBURY, the next township to Worcester, was incorporated in the year 1727. It lies on a single hill and its acclivities, commencing at the borders of Worcester, and rising gradually with various interruptions to the centre of the township; whence it descends also gradually and regularly to the bounds of Northborough. To the south it slopes in the same easy manner. To the north there is no material descent. A very extensive prospect opens from the summit over the adjacent country.

The soil of Shrewsbury is strong grazing ground; almost everywhere productive, and covered extensively, like most other settlements in New-England, with flourishing orchards.

The inhabitants are almost all farmers. The houses are generally good farmers' houses; and some of them, particularly in a small village near the church, of a still better appearance.

At the entrance of this township from Worcester lies a beautiful lake, called Quinsigamond; about one acre of which is comprised within the bounds of Worcester, and the rest in those of Shrewsbury. This lake is about four miles long, and from one hundred rods to a mile broad, and is the largest and handsomest piece of water seen from the great road in this county. Its form is a crescent. From the high ground in Shrewsbury it furnishes a fine feature of the landscape, and exhibits to the eye the appearance of a noble section of a majestic river. From its waters a stream runs in a southern direction into another, called Flint's Pond. What is singular, at

least so far as my knowledge extends, the current of the stream is in dry seasons inverted, and runs back from Flint's Pond into Quinsigamond. This fact is the more extraordinary as the proper outlet of Flint's Pond is into a small river in the neighbourhood. The reason of the phenomenon is probably this: the springs which supply Flint's Pond lie lower, are therefore less affected either by wet or drought, and, of course, flow more uniformly into their reservoir. The sources of Quinsigamond are, on the contrary, at least partially nearer to the surface; are more affected by seasons, and yield more irregular supplies of water. Hence the surface of one of these lakes is sometimes higher, and sometimes lower, than that of the other, and this necessarily produces a variation of the current in their common channel of communication.

Among the inhabitants of Shrewsbury the Hon. Artemas Ward, first Major General of the American revolutionary army, deserves to be particularly mentioned.

This gentleman was educated at Harvard college, where he commenced bachelor of arts in 1743, and was afterwards, successively, a member of the Massachusetts' house of representatives, of the council, under the old government, of the old congress and of the new, besides sustaining several other civil offices. The duties of all these he discharged honourably to himself and usefully to his country.

I knew General Ward well; and having been often with him on committees, charged with interesting business, necessarily developing the views and principles of the several members, had a very fair opportunity to learn his character. He was possessed of an excellent understanding, directed chiefly to the practical interests of mankind; was of few words, and those always pointing to the purpose in hand; was frank, undisguised, of inflexible integrity, an unwarping public spirit, and a fixed adherence to what he thought right, a subject which he rarely mistook. His reverence for the Christian religion was entire, and his life adorned its precepts. I have known no person, to whom might be applied the "Justum et tenacem propositi virum" of Horace with more propriety, or whose firm mind would be less shaken by the "civium ardor, prava jubentium," or the "vultus instantis tyranni."

General Ward resigned his military commission in April, 1776. He died in his own house at Shrewsbury, of a slow decline, which he sustained with distinguished patience, October 28th, 1800, at the age of seventy-three, and left behind him a very respectable family.

The inhabitants of Shrewsbury constitute one congregation, and, in 1790, were in number 963. In the year 1800, there were in Shrewsbury 141 dwelling-houses, and 1,048 inhabitants; and in 1810, 1,210.

Northborough, the next township on our journey, was originally, together with Westborough and Southborough, a part of Marlborough. Afterwards, Northborough was a parish of Westborough, and was incorporated in 1766. It is composed partly of an extensive plain, and partly of hills and vallies. The soil of the plain is light, but warm, producing excellent grain. The hills and vallies are rich. Fruit abounds here.

Northborough is settled in plantations. The inhabitants are farmers, sober, industrious, and thrifty, and constitute a single congregation, one of the wealthiest in the county.

There is a forge in this township, supplied with bog-ore from the neighbourhood, and manufacturing a considerable quantity of iron.

In the cemetery of Northborough is the grave of a Mr. Monis, originally a Jewish rabbi, afterwards converted to Christianity, and established in Harvard college as an instructor of the Hebrew language, the first who held this office in that seminary. Upon the loss of his wife he resigned his place, in the year 1761, and spent his remaining days with his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Martyn, minister of Northborough. Mr. Monis was well skilled in the Hebrew language, and had made considerable progress in other branches of learning. He left one volume of religious discourses, which I have seen, addressed chiefly to the people of his own nation. They are solemn, impressive, and, when considered as written by a man originally a Jew, are affecting.

At his death he left between five and six hundred dollars to charitable uses, the principal part of which was destined as a fund for the relief of the widows of poor clergymen.

The following epitaph is inscribed on his tombstone:—

Here lie buried the remains of
RABBI JUDAH MONIS, M. A.
Late Hebrew Instructor
At Harvard College in Cambridge;
In which office he continued forty years.
He was by birth and religion a Jew,
But embraced the Christian faith;
And was publicly baptized
At Cambridge, A. D. 1722:
And departed this life
April 25th, 1764,
Aged eighty-one years, two months,
and twenty-one days.

A native branch of Jacob see,
Which once from off its olive broke;
Regrafted from the living tree, Rom. xi, 17, 24.
Of the reviving sap partook.

From teeming Zion's fertile womb, Isa. lxv, 8.
As dewy drops in early morn, Psalm cx, 3.
Or rising bodies from the tomb, John v, 28, 29.
At once be Israel's nation born. Isa. lxvi, 8.

Mr. Monis is a very uncommon, if not a singular, instance of conversion from Judaism to Christianity; of candour, yielding in spite of the prejudices of a bigoted education, and the powerful influence of national bigotry, to the light of evidence and the force of truth. Several Jews have embraced Christianity in this country as well as elsewhere. But Mr. Monis was a man of learning, distinguished among his own people, and possessed of the honourable character of a Rabbi. His mind, therefore, was obliged, in its progress towards Christianity, to encounter and overcome that unchanging enemy to truth, that prime auxiliary of error, the pride of self-consistency. Of the sincerity of his conversion there is not a doubt. Beside the proof exhibited by an unblemished Christian life, both Christians and Jews agreed in acknowledging his sincerity; the Christians by their general respect for him, and the Jews by their hatred and obloquy.

In the year 1790, Northborough contained 88 dwelling-houses, and 619 inhabitants; in 1800, 698 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 794.

From Northborough we entered Marlborough, in the county of Middlesex. I will therefore take leave of the county of Worcester, with some general remarks.

The county of Worcester is the second in its extent in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, the third in its population, and the third in wealth. Hampshire is somewhat more extensive; Hampshire and Essex* exceed it in population, and Suffolk and Essex in wealth. Like Hampshire and Berkshire, Worcester extends across the whole breadth of Massachusetts; and is fifty miles in length from north to south, and about thirty-six or thirty-seven upon an average, from east to west. It is bounded on the north by New-Hampshire, on the east by the county of Middlesex, and a small part of the county of Norfolk, on the south almost equally by the states of Rhode-Island and Connecticut, and on the west by the county of Hampshire. It contains between fifteen and eighteen hundred square miles. From the county of Hampshire it is naturally separated by the Lyme range. Its other boundaries are artificial.

The surface of this county is universally undulating. The hills are rarely lofty, or steep; and the vallies are not uncommonly of considerable breadth. Both are in many instances beautiful, and the prospects from the heights are in several instances extensive and noble. Watchuset is the only mountain of any distinction; a single eminence in Princeton, about three miles in circuit, fifteen miles northward from Worcester, and fifty-two westward from Boston. This mountain was estimated by the Honourable John Winthrop, LL. D. professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Harvard college, to be three thousand and twelve feet above the level of the ocean. This estimate is, I suspect, at least five hundred feet higher than the truth.

There are no large lakes in this county: but there are about forty small ones; many of them very beautiful, and adding a

* Essex, however, contained only four more inhabitants at the census in 1800.

fine brilliancy to the surface. There are also no large rivers, but it furnishes the fountains and head-streams of many rivers, and is abundantly watered with springs, brooks, and mill-streams. Both the lakes and rivers are stored with the fish common to the fresh waters of New-England; such as pike, trout, dace, roach, and several others. The principal forest vegetation I have already mentioned. Nothing is wanting to replenish it with every variety of fruit suited to the climate, but a sufficient degree of attention in the inhabitants.

The soil, as has been already observed, varies from sand to clay. Coldness and moisture, however, predominate, and the dry and warm land exists in moderate quantities. Hence, like the hill countries of New-England generally, the county of Worcester yields grass, rye, maize, and oats, more easily and more extensively than wheat. Flax is cultivated in small quantities; but grass is altogether the most valuable product, and is indeed more profitable than any other found in this climate. A grazing farm, of a given quantity and quality, is worth more, by at least one-fourth, than an arable farm of the same quantity and quality. This may be easily seen by a comparison of the quantity and prices of the respective products, and the expense incurred in raising, curing, and transporting them to the market.

The hills of this county, and of New-England at large, are perfectly suited to the production of grass. They are moist to their summits. Water is everywhere found on them at a less depth than in the vallies, or on the plains. I attribute the peculiar moisture of these grounds to the stratum, lying immediately under the soil; which throughout a great part of this country is what is here called the "hard pan," a very stiff loam, so closely combined as wholly to prevent the water from passing through it, unless where there are crevices. Basons, formed of this substance on the surface, appear in many places to retain all the water which runs into them, until it escapes by evaporation. Whenever this earth is dug, it must be broken with a pick-axe. Even high mountains, furnished with a substratum of this earth, are remarkable for their moisture quite to their summits. The Green Mountain range is accordingly one of the best grazing countries in the world.

The mountains of Europe are frequently described as dry and barren. Where they are not mere rocks, but are covered with a layer of earth, the substratum is, I presume, formed of porous or disjointed substances. The water which falls on them, as on the peninsula of Cape Cod, finds a passage directly through, and continues near the surface too short a time to supply the demands of vegetation.

The inhabitants of this county have not been inattentive to their advantages. In no part of this country is there a more industrious or thrifty collection of farmers. In no part of this country are the barns universally so large and so good; or the inclosures of stone so general, and everywhere so well formed. These inclosures are composed of stones, merely laid together in the form of a wall, and not compacted with mortar. An eye, accustomed to the beautiful hedges of England, would probably regard these inclosures with little pleasure. But emotions of this nature depend much on comparison. There are no hedges in New-England; those which formerly existed having perished by some unknown misfortune. Few persons therefore, who see these walls, will be able to compare them with hedges. A great part of what we call beauty arises from the fitness of means to their end. This relative beauty these inclosures certainly possess; for they are effectual, strong, and durable. Indeed, where the stones have a smooth, regular face, and are skilfully laid in an exact line, with a true front, the wall, independently of this consideration, becomes neat and agreeable. A farm, well surrounded and divided by good-stone walls, presents to my mind, irresistibly, the image of tidy, skilful, profitable agriculture; and promises to me, within doors, the still more agreeable prospect of plenty and prosperity.

Excellent neat cattle abound in the county of Worcester, and beef is perhaps nowhere better fattened upon grass. Swine also abound here; and a great quantity of excellent pork is annually furnished for the market, particularly in the southern part of the county. Sheep are not very numerous. The inclosures, which I have mentioned, are so far from being a defence against these animals, that they appear often to climb them from mere sport. Still the quantity of cloth manu-

factured throughout this county is a sufficient proof that the number of sheep is considerable *.

Horses abound in every part of New-England. Within a few years some attention has been paid in this country to the raising of mules.

From some cause, of which I am ignorant, the country lying eastward of a line, which may be fixed about thirty miles east of Connecticut river, is unfavourable to the production of wheat. This cause I have in vain attempted to investigate. It seems difficult to ascribe it to the nature of the soil: for every kind of soil is found in this tract; whether clay, sand, loam, or gravel, and these in all their varieties and mixtures. On the western side of this line each of these soils, when neither too moist nor too lean, will yield wheat well. On the eastern side, though wheat grows in many places, yet in many it will not grow at all, and flourishes in very few. It cannot be the neighbourhood of the ocean; for other lands, still nearer the ocean, produce wheat in the greatest abundance. It cannot be the climate; for wheat grows better nowhere than in the same climate. Nor can it be the influence of the barberry, for in large tracts throughout this region that bush is unknown. It seems unreasonable to ascribe it to a peculiar mode of culture, because most American modes of culture are pursued here; and farmers, who remove from this region into countries farther west, cultivate wheat with success.

For some years past I have become strongly inclined to believe, that much of this inconvenience is the effect of dressing these lands with the manure of cattle; or, what is substantially the same thing, pasturing them through long periods. On this subject I shall say more hereafter.

Whatever may be the cause, the effect is certain. A traveller will scarcely see a field of wheat in this tract during a journey of one hundred miles. The general opinion of the farmers is, that wheat cannot here be cultivated with success. So far as the customary modes of culture are concerned, this opinion is undoubtedly decisive.

* For example; in Northborough about seven thousand yards of cloth have been annually dressed by a single clothier; and business of this kind is carried on in every part of the county upon a similar scale.

In consequence of this fact, the bread generally used in this region is made of rye. Rye bread is used in considerable quantities in many places on Connecticut river; but, being made usually of what is called white rye, and managed with great care in every part of the process, often approximates in its colour to wheat, and still more in its agreeableness to the palate. But the rye in this region is itself of a dark hue, and is ground without being bolted; the flour being afterwards separated from the bran, very imperfectly, by sifting. It is then mixed with a large portion of the meal of maize; and, when baked, is dark, glutinous, and heavy. When a traveller from the western country sees this bread brought upon the table at an inn, he looks at it with curiosity and wonder; asks what kind of food it is; and is not a little surprised, when he is told that it is bread.

A stranger can hardly be persuaded that this bread is preferred by the inhabitants, who have been used to it, to the best wheaten loaf; and that not by plain people only, but by gentlemen, accustomed through life to all that is meant by good living. I have seen in Boston, and elsewhere, at tables loaded with the richest dainties, this bread preferred, both by the host and the guests, to the finest white bread. If, therefore, the decision is to be made as in all other cases of a similar nature, this bread will be pronounced to be palatable food.

The white bread served up at tables in this county, and in the country farther east, particularly in the inns, is made in the form of large biscuits; dry and hard, but agreeable to the taste, yet inferior to the crackers made in the country farther west.

The county of Worcester is extensively settled in plantations, and evidently experiences some of the disadvantages resulting from that mode of settlement. It is universally settled. A few of the inhabitants derived their origin from Ireland; and in Oxford a small number of the first planters were Protestant refugees, from France. It contains fifty towns.

Towns and Number of Inhabitants of Worcester County.

	In 1800.	In 1810.
Ashburnham	994	1,036
Athol	993	1,041
Barre	1,937	1,971
Berlin	599	591
Bolton	945	1,037
Brookfield	3,284	3,170
Boylston	1,058	800
Charlton	2,120	2,180
Dana	——	625
Douglas	1,083	1,142
Dudley	1,240	1,226
Fitchburgh	1,390	1,566
Gardiner	667	815
Gerry	802	839
Grafton	985	946
Harvard	1,319	1,481
Hardwick	1,727	1,657
Holden	1,142	1,072
Hubbardston	——	1,127
Lancaster	1,584	1,694
Leominster	1,486	1,584
Leicester	1,103	1,181
Lunenburgh	1,243	1,371
Mendon	1,628	1,819
Milford	907	973
New-Braintree	875	912
Northbridge	544	713
Northborough	698	794
Oakham	801	848
Oxford	1,237	1,277
Paxton	582	619
Petersham	1,794	1,490
Princeton	1,021	1,062
Royalston	1,245	1,415
Rutland	1,202	1,231
Shrewsbury	1,048	1,210
Southborough	871	926
Spencer	1,433	1,453

	In 1800.	In 1810.
Sturbridge	1,846	1,927
Sterling	1,614	1,472
Sutton	2,513	2,660
Templeton	1,068	1,205
Upton	854	995
Uxbridge	1,404	1,404
Ward	532	540
West-Boylston	——	632
Westborough	922	1,048
Western	979	1,014
Westminster	1,369	1,419
Winchendon*	1,092	1,173
Worcester†	2,411	2,577
		64,910

This county contains seventy-six congregations, of which fifteen are Baptists, four Methodists, one Universalist, and two Presbyterians in the proper sense; the rest (fifty-four) are New-England Presbyterians or Congregationalists. Six of the Baptist congregations were in 1802 vacant, one Presbyterian proper, the Universalist, and six of the New-England Presbyterians.

In thirty towns in this county, there were, in 1793, one hundred and fifteen grist-mills, one hundred and fifteen saw-mills, thirty-two fulling-mills, five forges, eighteen trip-hammers, two paper-mills, and three oil-mills; beside a variety of other machines carried by water. This list may serve, once for all, as a general account of these kinds of machinery in New-England. They abound everywhere, and the number of kinds is continually increasing.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Several of these townships have been lately divided.

† The county of Worcester contained, in 1820, 73,625 inhabitants.—*Pub.*

LETTER XXXVIII.

Marlborough. The Barberry Bush destructive to the Cultivation of Wheat. Lakes of New-England uniformly healthy, being supplied with Water by Subjacent Springs. Diseases in the Neighbourhood of Standing Waters, occasioned by Animalculine Putrefaction. Stow. Concord. Expedition of the British, at the Commencement of the Revolutionary War, to this Town and Lexington. Reflections on this Subject.

DEAR SIR;

SATURDAY morning, October 1st, we left Marlborough, and rode to Andover, through a part of Stow, Concord, Bedford, Billerica, and Tewkesbury: thirty-six miles.

Marlborough is an ancient settlement, begun in 1654, and incorporated in 1660. With its history I am unacquainted. Its surface is like that of the country last described. The soil is rich grazing-land, of the first quality; rewarding abundantly the toil of the owners, and presenting to the eye of the traveller a continued succession of the deepest verdure. Great numbers of cattle of the largest size and best quality are fed on these rich pastures; and the large, well-built barns, and good farmers' houses, are decisive indications of prosperity.

This town is universally settled in plantations, except a small village on the road, near to one of the churches.

From Marlborough eastward, throughout a country, extending to Piscataqua river on the north, and to the counties of Bristol and Plymouth on the south, the barberry bush is spread; not universally, but in spots, and those often extensive. In some

fields they occupy a sixth, fifth, and even a fourth, of the surface. Neat farmers exterminate them, except from the sides of their stone enclosures. Here it is impossible to eradicate them, unless by removing the walls; for the roots pass under the walls, and spring up so numerously, as to make a regular and well compacted hedge. It is altogether improbable, therefore, that they will ever be extirpated.

This bush is in New-England generally believed to blast both wheat and rye. Its blossoms, which are very numerous, and continue a considerable time, emit, very copiously, a pungent effluvium; believed to be so acrimonious as to injure essentially both these kinds of grain. Among other accounts, intended to establish the truth of this opinion, I have heard the following:—

A farmer, on Long-Island, sowed a particular piece of ground with wheat every second year, for nearly twenty years. On the southern limit of this field grew a single barberry bush. The southern winds, prevailing at the season, in which this bush was in bloom, carried the effluvia, and afterwards the decayed blossoms, over a small breadth of this field to a considerable distance: and, wherever they fell, the wheat was blasted, while throughout the remainder of the field it was sound. This account I had from a respectable gentleman, who received it from the farmer himself; a man of fair reputation.

In Southborough, a township in the county of Worcester, a Mr. Johnson sowed with rye a field of new ground, or ground lately disforested. At the south end of this field, also, grew a single barberry bush. The grain was blasted throughout the whole breadth of the field, on a narrow tract commencing at the bush, and proceeding directly in the course, and to the extent in which the blossoms were diffused by the wind.

In another field, the property of a Mr. Harrington, an inhabitant of the same township, exactly the same circumstances existed, and exactly the same mischief followed.

These two accounts I received from Mr. Johnson, son of the proprietor of the field first mentioned, a student at that time in Yale college, and afterwards a respectable clergyman in Milford, Connecticut.

As no part of the grain was blasted in either of these cases, except that which lay in a narrow tract, leeward of the barberry bushes; these facts appear to be decisive, and to establish the correctness of the common opinion. Should the conclusion be admitted, we cannot wonder that wheat and rye should be blasted wherever these bushes abound.

A labouring man, attached to the family of Mr. Williams, our host in this town, informed me, that in Mr. Williams's garden a barberry-bush grew in the wall a number of years; that during this period esculent roots, although frequently planted near it, never came to such a degree of perfection as to be fit for use; that such as grew at all appeared to be lean and shrivelled, as if struggling with the influence of an unfriendly climate; that the wall was afterwards removed, and the bush entirely eradicated; that in the first succeeding season such roots flourished perfectly well on the same spot, and were of a good quality; and that, ever since, they had grown, year by year, to the same perfection. My informant added, that the soil was very rich, and throughout every other part of the garden was always entirely suited to the growth of these vegetables; and that it was not more highly manured after the removal of the bush than before. This is the only instance of the kind within my knowledge. If there be no error in the account, it indicates, that the barberry-bush has an unfavourable influence on other vegetable productions beside wheat and rye.

The farm of Mr. Williams is bordered on the north-west by a small lake, about a mile in length, and one-fourth of a mile in breadth. The road lies on its margin about half a mile. A considerable number of houses, several of them very ancient, are built upon this road, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of the lake. Mr. Williams informed us, that he knew no spot more healthy than the borders of this piece of water; particularly, that no endemic had ever prevailed here; that his own father, who had spent his life on the spot, and died between eighty and ninety years of age, had enjoyed the best health; and that there were, and generally had been, as many healthy and aged people in these houses as in any equal number of habitations within his knowledge. It has been commonly sup-

posed, that standing waters are insalubrious in countries subjected to such intense heat as that of a New-England summer. The supposition, however, is almost, if not quite, absolutely erroneous, so far as New-England is concerned. There is, probably, as great a number of small lakes and ponds in this country, as in any of the same extent on the globe. After very extensive inquiries, I have been unable to find one, the margin of which is not healthy ground. I speak not here of artificial ponds; these are often unhealthy. I speak of those which nature has formed; and all these appear to be perfectly salubrious. Within the township of Plymouth, which is very large, the number is uncommonly great; but they have never been known to produce any disagreeable effects.

Decayed vegetables have been imagined to furnish an explanation of the insalubrity of stagnant waters. To some extent this opinion may be just. They cannot, I think, be ordinarily concerned in producing the fever and ague, because this disease is almost always experienced, originally, in the spring. Besides, vegetables decay in New-England, as well as elsewhere; and yet, eastward of the western ridge of the Green Mountains, the fever and ague, so far as I have been able to learn, is absolutely unknown, except in solitary instances, in the neighbourhood of two or three marshes, within the township of Guilford. But I suppose vegetable putrefaction to be especially considered as the cause of autumnal diseases. That vegetable putrefaction may be an auxiliary cause of these evils may, I think, be rationally admitted. But that it is the sole, or even the principal cause, may be fairly questioned. This putrefaction exists regularly every year; the diseases, in any given place, rarely. The putrefaction exists throughout the whole country; the diseases, whenever they exist, are confined to a few particular spots. Should it be said, that stagnant waters are necessary to this effect, I answer, that in the large tract of country, which I have specified, no such effect is produced by these waters; and that the diseases here prevail as often where no such waters exist as in their neighbourhood; that they are found on plains, in vallies, on hills, and even on the highest inhabited mountains.

A number of years since, I put a quantity of ground pepper

into a tumbler of water; and, a few days afterwards, found a thin scum spread over the surface. Within a few days more, I perceived, on examining this scum with a microscope, that it exhibited an immense number of living animalcules. Two or three days after, examining the same scum again, I found not the least appearance of life. After another short period, the scum was replenished with living beings again; and, after another, became totally destitute of them. This alternate process continued until the water became so fœtid as to forbid a further examination. The conclusion which I drew from these facts was, that the first race of animalcules, having laid their eggs died, and were succeeded in a short time by a second, and these by a third.

The fœtor, which arose from the putrefaction of these ephemeral beings, differed in one respect from that which is produced by the decay of larger animals. Although it was perceptible at a small distance only, and perhaps less loathsome than the smell of a corrupted carcass, it was far more suffocating. When the effluvia were received into the lungs, it seemed as if nature gave way, and was preparing to sink under the impression. A pungency, entirely peculiar, accompanied the smell, and appeared to lessen the *vis vitæ* in a manner different from any thing which I had ever experienced before.

The scum, which covered this pepper-water, was in appearance the same with that which in hot seasons is sometimes seen on standing waters, and abounds on those marshes exposed to the sun. To the production, and still more to the sustenance of animalcules, vegetable putrefaction seems to be necessary, or at least concomitant; the nidus, perhaps, in which the animalculine existence is formed, or the pabulum by which it is supported.

Whatever instrumentality vegetable putrefaction may have, I am inclined to suspect, for several reasons, that animalculine putrefaction is the immediate cause of those diseases, whatever they are, which are justly attributed to standing waters. It will, I believe, be found universally, that no such disease is ever derived from any standing waters, which are not to a considerable extent covered with a scum; and perhaps most, if

not all of those which have this covering, will be found unhealthy. The New-England lakes, so far as I have observed, are universally free, even from the thinnest pellicle of this nature, are pure portable water, are supplied almost wholly by subjacent springs, and are, therefore, too cool, as well as too much agitated by winds, to permit, ordinarily, the existence of animalcules.

In the year 1790, Marlborough contained 218 dwelling-houses, and 1,554 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 239 dwelling-houses, and 1,735 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,674.

From the year 1760 to 1795 (thirty-five years), there were seven hundred and twenty-six deaths, and one thousand six hundred and seventy-two births in this town. The average of the deaths is somewhat less than twenty-one annually; the average of births a small fraction less than forty-eight.

The road from Marlborough to Concord passes through the skirts of Stow. The surface is a succession of gradual acclivities and flat valleys. The soil of the acclivities is loam, mixed with gravel, and moderately good. The vallies, or as they might with equal propriety be styled the plains, are sandy and lean. Among a considerable number of indifferent houses we saw a few good ones.

In the year 1790, Stow contained 130 dwelling-houses, and 801 inhabitants; in 1800, the same number of dwelling-houses, and 890 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 885.

Concord was purchased of the Indians, and incorporated in 1635. Three persons only are known to have been killed within the limits of this township by the savages, although it was the first settlement made in New-England, so far from the shore. From Boston it is distant nineteen miles; from Williams's, in Marlborough, fifteen.

The soil of this township is various. The higher grounds have loam, mixed with gravel. The plains are sandy, light but warm, and friendly to rye and maize, of which considerable quantities are carried to market. Pastures are visibly few, and indifferent. Along the river, which is named from this town, and runs through the middle of it, lie extensive and rich meadows. Hemp and flax grow here luxuriantly. Two acres are said to have yielded, in one instance, one thousand pounds

of flax. Few fruits are seen except apples; and these plainly do not abound, as in most other parts of the country.

The face of this township is generally a plain. A hill of no great height ascends at a small distance from the river on the eastern side, and pursues a course northward, parallel with that of the river. Between this hill and the river lies the principal street. Another containing a considerable number of houses abuts upon it, perpendicularly from the western side.

The houses in Concord are generally well-built, and, with the out-buildings and fences, make a good appearance. The public buildings are the church, court-house, and gaol; all of them neat.

Concord will be long remembered, as having been, partially, the scene of the first military action in the revolutionary war, and the object of an expedition, the first in that chain of events, which terminated in the separation of the British colonies from their mother-country. A traveller on this spot, particularly an American traveller, will irresistibly recal to his mind an event of this magnitude, and cannot fail of being deeply affected by a comparison of so small a beginning with so mighty an issue. In other circumstances, the expedition to Concord, and the contest which ensued, would have been merely little tales of wonder and woe, chiefly recited by the parents of the neighbourhood to their circles at the fire-side, commanding a momentary attention of childhood, and calling forth the tear of sorrow from the eyes of those who were intimately connected with the sufferers. Now, the same events preface the history of a nation and the beginning of an empire, and are themes of disquisition and astonishment to the civilized world. From the plains of Concord will henceforth be dated a change in human affairs; an alteration in the balance of human power; and a new direction to the course of human improvement. Man, from the events which have occurred here, will in some respects assume a new character, and experience in some respects a new destiny.

General Gage, to whom was committed one of the most unfortunate trusts ever allotted to an individual, having obtained information, that a considerable quantity of arms and military stores was by order of the provincial congress depo-

sited in this town*, sent Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, at the head of eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, with orders to march to Concord and destroy the deposit. The troops were accordingly embarked from the common in Boston, and landed on the opposite shore in Cambridge, at a place called Phipps's farm. Thence they marched by the shortest route to this town.

An expedition of this nature had for some time been expected. Certain intelligence of it had been obtained the preceding afternoon by Doctor Warren, who afterwards fell in the battle of Breed's Hill, and was forwarded by him with the utmost celerity to the intervening towns, particularly to Lexington, where were, at that time, Mr. Hancock and Mr. Adams, both afterwards governors of Massachusetts. As these gentlemen were supposed to be the principal objects of the expedition, the expresses who carried the intelligence (Colonel Paul Revere and Mr. William Dawes) were peculiarly directed to them. They reached Lexington, which is four miles from Concord, in such season, that Messrs. Hancock and Adams made their escape. Here, however, the expresses were stopped by the British, as they were advancing towards Concord, but Dr. Prescott, a young gentleman to whom they had communicated their message, escaped and alarmed the inhabitants of Concord†.

* The whole amount of the warlike stores in the province of Massachusetts, as they appear on a return, April 14th, 1775, is contained in the following list:—

Fire arms	21,549
Pounds of powder	17,441
Ditto of ball	22,191
Number of flints	144,699
Number of bayonets	10,108
Number of pouches	11,979

The whole of the town stocks.

Fire arms	68
Pounds of powder	357½
Ditto of ball	66,781
Number of flints	100,531

Duke's county and Nantucket were not included in this list.

† See Colonel Revere's letters to the corresponding secretary of the Mass. Hist. Society. Hist. Coll. vol. v, p. 106.

The British troops reached Lexington at five o'clock in the morning. Here they found about seventy militia, and forty unarmed spectators by the side of the church. Major Pitcairn rode up to them, and cried out with vehemence, "Disperse, you rebels! throw down your arms and disperse!" As this command was not immediately obeyed, he discharged a pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire upon the inhabitants. The soldiers fired, and the people instantly fled. The soldiers, however, continued to fire at individuals. This at length provoked a return, and several were killed on both sides. Still the troops continued their march towards Concord, where they arrived early in the morning. For the purpose of defence, the inhabitants had drawn themselves up in a kind of order, but, upon discovering the number of the enemy, withdrew over the north bridge, half a mile below the church, where they waited for reinforcements. The soldiers then broke open and scattered about sixty barrels of flour, disabled two twenty-four pounders, destroyed the carriages of about twenty cannon, and threw five hundred pounds of ball into the river and neighbouring wells. The principal part of the stores, however, was not discovered.

After this work was completed, the troops advanced to the bridge, in order to disperse the Americans. Major Butterick, of Concord, who commanded the militia, being ignorant of the tragedy at Lexington, had directed his men not to begin the fire. As he advanced with his party, the light infantry began to pull up the bridge, and as he approached, fired, and killed two Americans, one of them a Captain Davis, of Acton, in the neighbourhood. The fire was instantly returned, and the troops were compelled to retreat. Several of them were killed, several wounded, and a few taken prisoners.

The party was pursued, and after they had rejoined the main body, the whole retired with the utmost expedition. On their way to Lexington they were continually harassed by an irregular, and not ill-directed fire from the buildings and walls on their route. Every moment increased the number of their assailants, and their own fatigue, distress, and danger. Upon the first intelligence that the Americans had betaken themselves to arms, General Gage sent a second detachment to the relief of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, under the command of

Lord Percy. It amounted to nine hundred men, and marched from Boston with two field-pieces, their music playing the tune of "Yankee-doodle," to insult the Americans. As they were passing through Roxbury, a young man, who was making himself merry on the occasion, being asked, as is said, by his lordship, why he laughed so heartily, replied, "To think how you will dance by-and-by to Chevy-chace."

This detachment joined their friends at Lexington, where the whole body rested for a short time, and with their field-pieces kept the Americans at a distance. The neighbouring country was now in arms, and moving both to attack the enemy and to intercept their retreat. The troops, therefore, speedily re-commenced their march. From both sides of the road issued a continual fire, directed often by excellent marksmen, and particularly dangerous to the officers. Major Pitcairn thought it prudent to quit his horse, and lose himself among the soldiery. Everywhere the retreating army was pursued and flanked. Their enemies descended from every new hill, and poured through every new valley. Perplexed by a mode of fighting, to which they were strangers, and from which neither their valour nor their discipline furnished any security; exhausted by fatigue, and without a hope of succour, the troops wisely withdrew from impending destruction with the utmost celerity. In their retreat, however, they set fire to several houses, plundered whatever pleased their fancy, or gratified their avarice, and killed several unarmed persons; particularly two old men, whose hoary locks pleaded for compassion in vain. Bunker's Hill, which they reached about sun-set, was the first place of safety and repose in their march. The next day they returned to Boston.

In this expedition the British had sixty-five killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners: two hundred and seventy-three. Among the wounded were fifteen officers, one of them Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. Of the Americans fifty were killed, thirty-four wounded, and four missing: eighty-eight. Several gentlemen of reputation fell in this conflict, and were regarded as martyrs in the cause of freedom and their country.

Such was the issue of this memorable day, and such the

commencement of the revolutionary war in the United States.

Whatever opinions may be adopted concerning the controversy between the British government and the colonies by those who come after us, every man of sober, candid reflection must confess, that very gross and very unfortunate errors existed in the measures adopted, both in Great Britain and America, towards the colonies. In both countries information was drawn and received, almost solely from those who espoused the system of the reigning administration. It hardly needs to be observed, that deception and mischief were the necessary consequence. An opinion also was boldly advanced, sedulously adopted, and extensively diffused, that the Americans were mere blusterers and paltroons. In the British parliament, Colonel Grant declared, with equal folly and insolence, that at the head of five hundred, or perhaps (as numerals are easily misprinted) of five thousand men, he would undertake to march from one end of the British settlements to the other, in spite of all American opposition. This declaration would almost of itself have converted a nation of real cowards into soldiers. Why it should be believed, that the descendants of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen were cowards, especially by their brethren, descended from the same ancestors, I shall not take upon me to explain. The difficulties and hazards attendant upon a war, conducted at the distance of three thousand miles from the source of control and supplies, were certainly not realized by the British cabinet. As little did they realize the disposition or the circumstances of the Americans.

General Gage's principal advisers were of two classes; both very unhappily fitted to give him useful advice. One class was composed of Britons, utterly unacquainted with the state of the country, unwarrantably relying on their own prowess, and foolishly presuming on the supposed pusillanimity of the colonists. The other class was composed of colonists, who had embarked their all in British measures, were generally deceived themselves, and were strongly prompted by every motive to deceive him. When the expedition to Concord was planned, it is probable, that neither General Gage nor his ad-

visers expected the least attempt at resistance. This opinion was bandied through the whole party in Boston. At the same time were continually circulated fulsome panegyrics on the bravery of the British troops. Silly jests and contemptible sneers were also reiterated concerning the dastardly character of the colonists. All these were spread, felt, and remembered. The expedition to Concord refuted them all.

Concord, as has been observed, lies almost equally on both sides of the river to which it gives its name. The surface of the township is generally level and low, and the river remarkably sluggish. From these facts a traveller would naturally conclude, that Concord must be unhealthy. The following statement will, however, prove this conclusion to be unsound.

In the year 1790, the township contained 1,590 inhabitants. Of these, seventy-five were seventy years of age, or upwards.

From the year 1779 to 1791 inclusive (a period of thirteen years), two hundred and twenty-two persons died. The greatest number in a single year was twenty-five; the least, ten. The average number was seventeen. Of these, fifty-nine were more than seventy, thirty others more than eighty, and eight more than ninety; amounting in the whole to ninety-seven (out of two hundred and twenty-two), who passed the limit of seventy years. It is presumed, a more remarkable instance of health and longevity cannot be produced. Almost $\frac{7}{11}$ of the whole number deceased have, during this period, reached the boundary of human life. It is scarcely to be imagined, that even here a similar list will be furnished a second time. Yet the Rev. Mr. Ripley, minister of Concord, who kept this register, informed me, that the state of health during this period did not, so far as he had observed, differ very materially from what was common.

The salubrity of Concord violates the most received medical theories concerning such diseases as are supposed to be generated by stagnant waters. I know of no stream which approaches nearer to a state of stagnation than Concord river. Yet diseases of this class are seldom or never found here. The cause I shall not pretend to assign.

Within these thirteen years the baptisms in Concord amounted to three hundred and ninety-five. Three-fourths

only of those who were born are supposed to have been baptized. The number of births, therefore, was about five hundred and twenty-seven.

Concord contains a single congregation. The whole number of inhabitants in 1790, as has been observed, was 1,590; in 1800, it contained 227 dwelling-houses, and 1,679 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,633 inhabitants.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XXXIX.

Bedford. Billerica. Tewksbury. Middlesex Canal. Andover. Phillips' Academy. Theological Institution. Lieutenant-Governor Phillips. Bradford. Haverhill. Bridge over the Merrimac at Haverhill. Dry Rot in Timber. Canal from the Merrimac to Lake Winipiseogee. Depredations of the Indians. Story of Mr. and Mrs. Dustan.

DEAR SIR;

FROM Concord to Billerica the country consists of the same easy slopes and flat yallies which have been already described. In this tract lies Bedford, a small township of scattered plantations. We saw a few houses around the church of a decent appearance. Elsewhere they were generally indifferent. I know nothing of its history.

In the year 1790, Bedford contained 523 inhabitants; in 1800, 74 dwelling-houses, and 538 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 592.

The town of Billerica stands on a pretty eminence, easily ascended, and of considerable height; presenting to the eye an extensive prospect of the neighbouring country. On this eminence, and its acclivities, forty or fifty houses are situated, together with a decent church and townhouse, standing on the opposite sides of a small green.

There is in Billerica a respectable academy, under the direction of Mr. Pemberton, an instructor of the first reputation. This gentleman was heretofore a tutor in Nassau hall, where he was highly esteemed, and appears to have taken his present office only from the pleasure which he finds in promoting learning; an employment in which he has spent most of his life.

Billerica is pleasantly situated; and must, I think, be healthy. The manners of the plain inhabitants appear, like

many of their houses, to retain in an uncommon degree the ancient simplicity of New-England. The township contains one congregation; the number of which, in 1790, was 1,191; in 1800, 1,383, inhabiting 174 dwelling-houses; and, in 1810, 1,289.

Between Billerica and Andover lies the township of Tewksbury; the surface and soil of which, so far as we had opportunity to observe, were the same with those between Marlborough and Concord; except that the plains were more extensive, and apparently somewhat less fertile. Our road lay on the eastern skirt of this township, so that we saw little of it: that little was unpromising. It is, however, remarkable for the culture of hops; and yields, I believe, more of this commodity than any other spot of equal extent in the United States. Tewksbury contains a single congregation; amounting, in the year 1790, to 958 persons; in 1800, to 944, inhabiting 125 dwelling-houses; and, in 1810, to 943.

On this part of our road is crossed the Middlesex canal, the most considerable work of the kind in the United States. Its length is near thirty miles, from Charles river to the Merrimac. To the Merrimac it descends from Concord river, in five miles and three quarters, twenty-one feet; and from Concord to Charles river, through the remaining distance, one hundred and seven feet. The former of these descents is compassed by means of three locks, the latter by means of thirteen. The design of forming this canal was to introduce from the countries on the Merrimac, and its head-waters, into Boston, the great quantities of timber, and the artificial produce which they furnish. The canal was completed in 1801, and has ever since been in operation. It is doubted whether the proprietors will very soon obtain the interest of their money; although every friend of the community must earnestly wish that they may be liberally rewarded for their enterprise and public spirit.

Andover is situated not far from the centre of the county of Essex. It contains two parishes: South and North Andover. The surface is chiefly undulating and handsome. The soil, on the west of the river Shausheen, is to some extent sandy and light. On the east of that river, and to some extent on the

west, it is loam mixed with gravel. Most of the land eastward of the Shausheen is excellent. There is a considerable village in South-Andover, near the eastern bank of this river, built chiefly on a single street, upwards of a mile in length, and running from north to south. The houses are generally decent, and a few of them handsome.

Phillips' academy, in this town, is the most respectable institution of the kind within my knowledge. It was founded April 1st, 1778, by the Hon. Samuel Phillips and the Hon. John Phillips, LL. D. sons of the Rev. Samuel Phillips, formerly minister of Andover.

The property originally given by the founders to this institution consisted of one hundred and forty-one acres of land in Andover; two hundred acres in Jaffrey, in the state of New-Hampshire; and £1,614, or 5,380 dollars. The lands they directed to be let out on proper terms, and the money to be put on interest, on good security, and the profits to be for ever appropriated and expended for the support of a public free school, or academy, in the south parish of Andover.

In 1789, the Hon. John Phillips gave to this seminary the further sum of 20,000 dollars, for the virtuous and pious education of youths of genius and serious dispositions. In his last will, also, he bequeathed one-third of all the estate of which he died possessed, for the benefit, more especially, of charity scholars, such as may be of excelling genius and good moral character, preferring the hopefully pious; and for the assistance of youths liberally educated, and designed for the ministry, while studying divinity under the direction of some eminent Calvinistic minister of the Gospel; until a professor of divinity, able, pious, and orthodox, should be supported in this academy, or that at Exeter, in New-Hampshire, or in both. To this last fund the Hon. Wm. Phillips bequeathed 4,000 dollars for the same pious design.

The scheme of this academy was formed by the Hon. Samuel Phillips, late lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, when only twenty-one years of age. By his solicitations, his father and uncle gave the extensive benefactions which founded both the academies at Andover and Exeter. Of this property he was the natural and presumptive heir. He was an only

son; and his uncle, who had no child, regarded him with parental affection. In an important sense, therefore, the property thus given was all his own.

The first object of this institution is declared to be the promotion of virtue and true piety; the second, instruction in the English, Latin, and Greek languages, together with writing, arithmetic, music, and the art of speaking; the third, practical geometry, logic, and geography; and the fourth, such other of the liberal arts and sciences, or languages, as opportunity and ability may hereafter admit, and the trustees shall direct.

In conformity to the design expressed in the last-mentioned bequest, the trustees of this academy, June 1807, petitioned the legislature of Massachusetts, for liberty to receive and hold donations for the purpose of a theological institution, intended to furnish a professional education to youths destined for the ministry. The legislature accordingly enabled them, by an act passed the same month, to receive, purchase, and hold, for the purposes of such an institution, and agreeably to the design of the specified fund, real and personal estate, the annual income of which may not exceed five thousand dollars, in addition to what by law they had heretofore been allowed to hold; provided this income should always be applied to these objects, agreeably to the will of the donors, and consistently with the original design of the founders.

In consequence of this act, Mrs. Phœbe Phillips, relict, and the Hon. John Phillips, son of Lieutenant Governor Phillips, obligated themselves, the following August, to erect with all convenient dispatch two buildings, which should include good lodging-rooms for fifty students, three public-rooms, one for a dining-hall, one for a chapel and lecture-room, and one for a library; private rooms for the steward's family, and a kitchen.

At the same time, and by the same instrument, Samuel Abbot, Esq., of Andover, gave twenty thousand dollars to the trustees, as a fund for the purpose of maintaining a professor of Christian theology, and for the support and encouragement of students in divinity. These donations are to be for ever appropriated and applied by the trustees for the use and endowment of a theological institution in Phillips' academy, described by the donors, and regulated by their statutes.

On the 21st of March, Moses Brown, Esq. and William Bartlett, Esq. both of Newburyport, and the late Hon. John Norris, of Salem, gave, the first, ten thousand dollars; the second, twenty thousand dollars; and the third, ten thousand dollars, for the purpose of supporting two professors in this theological seminary; and also for the maintenance of such students in divinity as should be proper candidates for gratuitous support.

Mr. Abbott and Mr. Bartlett reserved to themselves, each, the nomination of a professor.

A board of three visitors was unitedly appointed by the original and associate founders of the theological seminary, for the purpose of seeing their intentions executed. This board elects its own successors.

In October, 1808, the seminary was opened under the direction of two professors, and education was given to thirty-six students in divinity. The following year, the number of students was fifty. Considerable sums have been since given to the institution for various purposes, and, among others, for a library.

There is the best reason to believe, that the design, with which Phillips' academy was founded, has been faithfully and effectually pursued. The number of students has always been great, and their education conducted in a manner inferior to none, pursued with respect to the same branches of learning, in the United States.

The theological institution is a singularity in this country, for its extent and the liberality of its founders. The term of education prescribed in it is three years. The students are taught natural theology, sacred literature, ecclesiastical history, Christian theology, and sacred rhetoric. The professorships of Christian theology, sacred literature, and sacred rhetoric are filled.

The buildings, erected for these objects, stand eastward of the village, on a handsome hill at the distance of half a mile. The academy is a neat building of wood, situated in an open green. The divinity college stands at a small distance northeastward from the academy, and is a good structure of brick, ninety-eight feet long, forty wide, and four stories high. From this ground there is an extensive and noble prospect.

To the memory of Lieutenant Governor Phillips I would willingly pay that tribute of respect, which would be challenged as due to him by all his countrymen, acquainted either with his private or public character. In the years 1782 and 1783 I lodged in the same house with him at Boston for three months, and, being occupied in the same concerns, had every opportunity of learning his character, which I could wish, particularly as he treated me with the most entire frankness and intimacy.

The mind of this gentleman, by nature vigorous and discerning, was early strengthened by habits of industry, and expanded by a liberal education at Harvard college. Here he received the degree of A. B. in the year 1771, and that of A. M. in 1774. The learning and science to which he chiefly addicted himself was that which most usefully affects the great interests of man. Of a character eminently practical, knowledge merely speculative presented few allurements to his eye; action he considered the end of thinking. He thought, therefore, and read, not merely that he might know more; but that he might become better; not that he might display his knowledge to his fellow-men, but that he might do them good. A species of ethical cast marked his conversation and life, and distinguished him from all other men whom I have known. His industry was unremitted. Always of a slender constitution, and often labouring under serious infirmities, he was still alive to every duty; and, in circumstances which would have discouraged most others from exertion, was vigorously employed in performing it. In his 24th year he was chosen by his fellow-citizens, in 1775, a member of the provincial congress of Massachusetts, and continued to represent them in the existing legislature until 1780. He was also a member of the convention by which the constitution of Massachusetts was formed, and of the committee by whom it was drawn up. After it was adopted, he was immediately chosen a member of the senate, and, except one year, in which he was employed by the state on a public mission, continued a senator until 1801. Five of these years he was unanimously elected president of the senate. In 1801, he was chosen lieutenant-governor of the state, and continued in that office until his death, February, 1802.

All these offices he discharged with honour to himself and usefulness to the public, and without a suspicion of his patriotism or integrity. He who is able and willing to do much business will have much to do. Accordingly he had a primary agency in all the measures of the state, in which he lived, for near thirty years. Without exaggeration it may, I believe, be said, that the man is not remembered, who in the same offices was more able, industrious, faithful, or useful.

No attempt of Mr. Phillips to gain popularity can be mentioned. What he thought right and beneficial he did, and left others to make their own comments on his conduct as they pleased. The modern doctrine of liberty and equality he considered as a senseless, and at the same time a most mischievous absurdity. But he was far more attentive, just, and benevolent, to the poor and suffering, than was ever any abettor of that doctrine. Energy in government he considered not only as reconcileable with the most perfect freedom, but as indispensable to its existence.

Those intervals of his life, which were not demanded by public concerns, he spent chiefly at his seat, near the academy in this town, in a variety of business, and peculiarly in the performance of those duties which adorn the religion of the Gospel. In his mind, Christianity flourished. In his life its fruits were genuine, fair, and abundant. Whether Mr. Phillips was a Christian, in the evangelical sense, is a question, which, I suspect, has never been asked by any man acquainted with his character.

His person was tall and slender, and his manners were a happy combination of simplicity with refinement, of modesty with dignity. His countenance was grave, mild, and commanding; his features were fixed in the sedateness of thought, and gentle with the amenity of virtue.

In February, 1808, the asthma, under which he had long laboured, put a period to his life.

North-Andover is a very beautiful piece of ground. Its surface is elegantly undulating, and its soil in an eminent degree fertile. The meadows are numerous, large, and of the first quality. The groves, charmingly interspersed, are tall and thrifty. The landscape, everywhere varied, neat, and cheerful, is also everywhere rich.

This parish is a mere collection of plantations, without any thing like a village. The houses are generally very good, the barns large and well built.

Upon the whole, Andover is one of the best farming towns in eastern Massachusetts. It contains two parishes: each including a congregation. The number of inhabitants in both was, in 1790, 2,863; in 1800, 2,941; and, in 1810, 3,164. The number of dwelling houses, in 1790, was 402.

Bradford lies between Andover and Haverhill, on the south bank of the Merrimac. The same undulatory surface, already described in the account of North-Andover, extends through this township: the land also is good: but both the surface and the soil are inferior to those of North-Andover. As we approached the Merrimac, we were presented with several interesting landscapes. Some fine bushy hills on the north-west, of an abrupt and singular appearance; the country on the opposite side of the river, rising gradually from the shore, and variegated with eminences; the town of Haverhill; its noble bridge, and the Merrimac itself, magnificently stretching both above and below, form a very happy succession of objects.

Bradford consists chiefly of plantations. There is, however, on the road near the church, a scattered village. The church is an ordinary building: the houses are generally decent and comfortable. Few of those, which we saw, are above this character.

With the history of Bradford I am unacquainted. It contains two parishes and two congregations.

In the year 1790, there were in this township 196 dwelling houses, and 1,371 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 201 dwelling houses, and 1,420 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,369.

Shoes are manufactured here as an article of commerce; and a small number of vessels built.

Haverhill is situated on the north bank of the Merrimac; fifteen miles westward from Newburyport, and twenty from the mouth of the river, thirty-three north of Boston, and thirty-four south-west of Portsmouth. The town lies on a handsome acclivity, ascending from the Merrimac; and is built principally on two streets: one running east and west along the bank of the river; the other north and south, and

terminating at the bridge. Neither of these streets is entirely straight, nor in other respects regular: but both are pleasant, and make a very cheerful appearance. The houses are generally good, and some of them handsome. The prospect is almost an exact counterpart to that, which has been mentioned in the description of Bradford.

The Merrimac is navigable to this place for sloops and brigs. The commerce of the inhabitants is considerable, but has declined since the American revolution; partly, as I believe, in consequence of the flourishing state of Newburyport, and partly from a want of energy in the people of Haverhill. There are, however, many indications of general competence and individual wealth.

Haverhill is divided into two parishes, containing three congregations, one of them a Baptist.

The soil is excellent, and presents everywhere a brilliant verdure*.

The manners of the inhabitants in general are very civil and becoming. Those of the most respectable people are plain, frank, easy, and unaffected. Both the gentlemen and ladies are well-bred and intelligent, and recommend themselves not a little to the esteem and attachment of a traveller. We saw at the church a numerous congregation, well dressed, decorous, and reverential in their deportment.

Haverhill bridge is a noble structure of wood, consisting of

* The following instance of longevity in a single family well deserves to be recorded.

Deacon David Marsh of Haverhill, died in his	80th year.
Mrs. Marsh in her	92d.
They had twelve children; of whom the eldest daughter died in her	84th.
The second in her	88th.
The third in her	80th.
The second son in his	81st.
The fifth in his	69th.
The eldest son is now in his	87th.
The third son in his	82d.
The fourth in his	80th.
The sixth in his	76th.
The seventh in his	73d.
The fourth daughter in her	71st.
And the fifth in her	69th.

three triple-framed arches, built on three strong piers of stone, and one abutment on the Bradford side; of a draw, near the Haverhill shore; a fourth pier; and a straight bridge, extending from that pier to the northern abutment. The three principal piers are each forty feet square; with a defensive pier to each, extending fifty feet further up the river. The defensive pier is built of stone, with a casing of timber, fortified strongly at the ridge with iron. Each of these piers contains four thousand five hundred tons of stone. The fourth pier is wholly enclosed with timber, and filled with stones; and has a defensive pier annexed to it also. The draw is thirty feet in length; and is easily raised by means of a lever, elevated upon a post on each side of the draw. The bridge is connected and strengthened overhead by arches extended equally with those below, and united side to side. These arches are sufficiently elevated to allow the most bulky load to pass under them. The chord of these arches is one hundred and eighty-two feet, and the perpendicular eight. There are two passages over the bridge: each fifteen and a half feet in the clear. The timber, of which it is built, is pine; well known to resist the injuries of the weather for a long period. With all other kinds of wood it is, however, subject, particularly when not divided through the heart, to that kind of decay, which is called by carpenters the dry-rot.

On this subject there is a very sensible essay in the Christian Observer for March 1802. The author of it, who appears to have given the subject a long, minute, and critical examination, observes, "the dry-rot in wood is a decay occasioned by a peculiar vegetable of the fungus kind; which possesses the power of destroying the wood to which it adheres, and from which it derives its nourishment.

"This vegetable," he remarks, "is originated and propagated, like other vegetables, by seed. The seeds, which are extremely minute, are spread over its surface, or lodged in the cavities of its branches. They require, in order to make them vegetate, a soil and situation suitable to them. Wood rather damp is their proper soil, and stagnant air their favourite situation. And wherever they meet with such a soil and situation, they readily spring, and luxuriantly flourish."

After prescribing various other remedies, which may occasionally be useful, the writer says,

"Take any quantity of green vitriol, and dissolve it in an iron pot over the fire, in as little water as will be sufficient for its solution; and with this liquor, whilst very hot, rub over the infected wood with a brush, as thick as possible, two or three times. Care must be taken of the operator's clothes, as the drops which fall upon them will corrode them."

I have transcribed these observations, because I believe they are here very little known.

The strength of the Haverhill bridge may be conjectured from the following fact. Six gentlemen placed themselves together upon an exact model of one of the arches, ten feet in length; in which the largest pieces of timber were half an inch square, and the rest smaller in proportion; yet not the least injury was done to the model. Of this fact I was a witness; and was informed by the gentlemen present, that eleven persons had, a few days before, stood together upon the same model, with no other effect than compacting it more firmly together. The eleven were supposed to weigh at least sixteen hundred pounds.

No bridge which I have seen, except that over the Piscataqua, can be compared with this, as a fine object to the eye. The length is eight hundred and sixty-four feet. The arches above and below have a degree of boldness and grandeur, unrivalled in this country. Every part of the work is executed with exactness and strength on the one hand, and on the other with great neatness and beauty. When we saw it, it was new, perfectly white, and brilliant, without any of that dulness, which springs from the decays of time*.

I have since learned that it is too nicely built; and has suffered some decay by the retention of water in the joints, and elsewhere.

It was long doubted, whether a bridge could be so constructed as to resist the ice of the Merrimac. The breadth of the river has been mentioned. The stream is rapid, and the climate so cold as to produce annually thick and firm ice.

* In the year 1812 I found the arched work of this bridge above taken down, and with it a large proportion of its fine appearance gone.

But the doubt has vanished. Seven bridges have been built on this stream, and not one of them has been carried away. The defensive piers have proved an effectual security against this evil. These are formed in the figure of a half pyramid; the base a semi-rhombus; and are strongly fortified with iron. When the ice descends in large floats against this pier, it rises on the oblique front; and, breaking by its own weight, easily passes between the principal piers, and is thus rendered harmless.

The seven bridges above-mentioned are, the Essex, three miles from Newburyport; Lower Haverhill, eight; Upper Haverhill, fifteen; Andover, twenty-four; Dracut, at Patucket falls, thirty-four; M'Gregor's, at Amoskeag falls, forty-two; and Concord, fifty-six.

All these are toll-bridges, and private property. Dracut and M'Gregor's bridges are horizontal, the rest are arched.

The Haverhill bridges were built by a Mr. Spafford, of Boxford.

A Mr. Palmer, of Newburyport, was the projector of the arched bridge of this country.

The only commodity, already floated down the Merrimac, is lumber. A company has been incorporated for opening a navigable communication between the Merrimac and the Winipiseogee. Should this design be accomplished, an immense quantity of lumber, now useless, would find an easy passage to a market. The shares of this company were subscribed in 1796. At that time, also, a canal was nearly completed out of the Merrimac, round the Amoskeag falls, into the Merrimac again. Of this work Judge Blodget is the author. Another canal, commencing above the Patucket falls, and intended to conduct boats out of the Merrimac into Concord river (Mass.), and down that river into the Merrimac again, was nearly finished at the same date. It is to be hoped, that they will not miscarry from want of skill or capital; and that their efforts may hereafter be extensively beneficial*.

* The following account of these works, drawn up by a committee of directors of the Middlesex canal, cannot fail of being acceptable to the reader:—

"The committee of directors, pursuant to the intentions of the board,

I was informed by unquestionable authority, that in a small lake in this town, about half a mile east of the Congregational

having visited and examined the canals in New-Hampshire at the falls of Merrimac river, in which the proprietors of Middlesex canal are interested, report:—That having proceeded to Concord, they embarked there on the river at the landing place of the Merrimac Boating Company, and, at the distance of two miles below, entered the channels, formed in Turkey falls, to admit the passage of boats. This fall, they understood, was naturally impassable, and its improvement came within the plan of the Bow canal. Accordingly, the dam, which raises the river to fill that canal, backs the water over those falls; and although they are still swift, are not difficult of ascent. The length of these channels, formed by removing rocks, is about half a mile.

"The entrance to Bow canal is nearly a mile lower down the river, on the westerly side. It consists of strong stone abutments, raised fourteen feet, and twelve feet thick, to support the guard-gates, and defend the canal in high freshets. Near them begins the dam, which is thrown across the river, at the head of the falls. It measures four hundred and fifty feet in length, and from seven to twelve feet high; formed of very large timber and plank, and loaded with stone, and strongly bolted to the ledges on which it is founded. From the guard-gates, for five hundred and sixty feet, the canal is dug principally in stone, and partly in gravel, thirty feet wide, and eight feet deep. It is then carried by a wall and embankment, twelve feet high, for three hundred and sixty feet, across a cove of the river. It then enters a small hill or ledge of rock, through which it is carried for three hundred and twenty feet, sixteen feet deep, and twelve feet wide; thence the canal was dug in gravelly ground, two hundred feet, to the locks. The descent into the river below the falls, which are twenty-seven feet perpendicular measurement, is effected by three locks, which are supported by walls of split stone, which average seven feet in thickness, twelve feet high, and measure, both sides the locks together, five hundred and twenty feet in length. The lower lock being sunk four feet below the lowest water-mark, a channel was made from thence to the channel of the river. The whole is about one-third of a mile.

"Your committee give these outlines of this and the works to be subsequently mentioned, that the board may have some data to compare with the expense of them.

"The property of the Bow canal consists of the ground it occupies, and four acres of good land contiguous, and a house thereon, for the residence of the lock-tender.

"By the act of incorporation, this proprietary is divided into two hundred shares. The whole expenditure thereon, including the channels of Turkey falls, has amounted to near 20,000 dollars.

"Bow canal went into operation for rafts in 1812, and to the 31st May, 1813, received 290,51 dollars; the year ending 31st May, 1814, received 497,01 dollars; the year ending 31st May, 1815, received 668,76 dollars.

church, and at a little distance from the river, there is an island, which has immemorially floated from one shore to

The present year, besides the toll on rafts, it will have the advantage of the ascending business by the boats since the 1st July last.

" The management of this canal is in the same hands, and similar to the Middlesex, as far as local circumstances will allow. The current expenses will be the constant wages of one man, and occasionally of two others, and moderate pay to the officers of the corporation.

" From Bow canal to Hooksett, six miles, the river is unobstructed and gentle; its width is generally about two hundred yards.

" At the head of Hooksett falls stands a small island, which gives its name to the place. To this island a dam is thrown from a large ledge of rocks, which stands ninety feet from the western shore. This space is occupied with a high and thick wall, which supports the guard-gates, and defends the work from high freshets.

" The canal consists of two spacious basins between the main dam, which forms one side, and the shores the other; and of two locks, supported by strong stone walls. The fall is seventeen feet perpendicular measurement. The corporation purchased the mill privileges at this place, and eight acres of land. Considerable work had already been done, which was made subservient to their object. This proprietary is divided into one hundred shares, and has cost fifteen thousand dollars. The toll received on rafts, in the year ending the 31st May, 1814, was 336,78 dollars; and to 31st May, 1815, 454,47 dollars. The present year will have additionally the benefit of the ascending trade. The canal and the mills, and the roads which meet here, are inducing a rapid settlement of this vicinity, and the general business increases.

" From Hooksett canal to Amoskeag, a distance of eight miles, the river is unobstructed, wide, and gentle.

" Amoskeag canal, the greatest work of the kind in New-England, except Middlesex, though not owned in any part by our corporation, is, however, principally in the hands of proprietors in the Middlesex canal; and, it being of great importance in the chain of water-communication, formed by the rest of our works, we are happy to state, that, for the most part, it is new and permanently constructed, and that what remains of the old work will probably be renewed the ensuing year.

" On leaving Amoskeag canal, you enter on that section of the river, nine miles in extent, converted by law into the Union canal, comprehending in that space six distinct falls; at each of which, and at several intermediate places, work has been done. The first lock is at Merrill's falls, erected at the foot of this rapid, near the eastern shore, supported and protected by strong walls, from which dams, formed of timber and stone, extend from the one side to the shore, and from the other to the head of the falls, and obliquely nearly across the river; forming a still basin or canal in this instance one hundred and forty rods in length.

another, whenever it was impelled by a violent wind. Lately it has adhered for a considerable time to a single spot; and

"In great freshets, when the river is rendered unnavigable, the lock is overflowed. As the water subsides, the works reappear for use; and are calculated for a variation of the surface, perpendicularly for eight feet. Precautions appear to be taken to guard against the effects of winter; and the experience of five seasons proves them secure.

"The other locks, *viz.* at Griffin's, Short, Goff's, Coos, and Moor's falls, are constructed on similar principles, varying in position or strength of the works, according to circumstances. In several instances, considerable difficulties were to be surmounted by dint of labour, and places were pointed out where channels had been formed by the removal of masses of rocks from under water, by the force of powder and machinery.

"Descending the river five miles farther, we came to Cromwell's falls; where a lock has likewise been built, under the same act of incorporation, by a subsequent grant of the legislature, with a separate rate of toll. The toll of the Union canal, above described, is seven and a half cents a ton per mile, or sixty-seven cents per ton; and, by a recent act of the legislature, a toll on rafts has been granted. The cost of Union canal, including Cromwell's, may be estimated in round numbers at 50,000 dollars; which, however, will be reduced (to the proprietors) twenty thousand, by the avails of the lottery, granted in aid of this expensive and hazardous undertaking. This canal has begun to receive toll, and is under a like system of management.

"After descending the river fifteen miles farther, your committee entered Wicasee canal, and passed the lock therein. This work, being in the same county as the Middlesex, may be considered as an appendage thereof. It consists of a natural passage between Tyng's island and the north shore, which was cleared out and deepened, and a substantial lock built, to raise the height of Wicasee falls, which are on the other side of the island; in which falls there are dams to check the water back in a low state of the river, to save the expense of digging the canal deeper. The cost was about 14,000 dollars, and there is a separate toll. This work opened the river for fifteen miles, and may be considered essential to its navigation. Proceeding from hence three miles down the river, we reached the head of Middlesex, fifty-two miles from the lower landing in Concord—the upper landing being on the east side, five miles higher up.

"Your committee, after viewing this chain of water-communication, see no reason to doubt its effectual operation; and are confirmed in the opinion, which six years ago prompted the board of directors to the undertaking, that it was necessary to the final success of the Middlesex canal. A few years of experience are wanting, to show the extent of the usefulness of these improvements, and the effects they will undoubtedly produce. The kind of business expected to result from them has already commenced.

may perhaps be so firmly fixed on the shelving bottom, as to move no more hereafter. Several trees and shrubs grow on its surface, and it is covered by a fresh verdure.

Haverhill was settled in the year 1637, and incorporated in 1645. During the first seventy-five years from its settlement it suffered often and greatly by savage depredations. The story of these depredations is, however, imperfectly known at the present time. Even the facts, which are still known, are so dispersed in the possession of different persons, as to render it very difficult to obtain them correctly. This kind of knowledge is daily becoming less, and will soon be lost. It is much to be wished, that inquisitive men throughout this country would glean and preserve the little which is left. It is a serious and unfortunate error of men in general to suppose, that events, familiarized to themselves by fire-side repetition, will be un-

The landing places and stores already mentioned have been established at Concord, for the deposit of merchandize and produce, in their way to and from Boston. A regular system of transportation is actually carried on, which there is every reason to think will actually increase; and, bringing the real accommodation of eighty-five miles of water carriage directly into the heart of the country, may be expected to attract a considerable accession of trade to our state and metropolis.

"In closing their report, your committee (having had an opportunity of inspecting the proof-impression of a map of New-Hampshire, on a large scale, now preparing for publication) beg leave to advert to the supposed practicability of opening a water-communication between the Merrimac and Connecticut river, in the direction of Windsor, in the state of Vermont, between Sugar river and Sunnapee lake, from which it takes its rise; and the Contoocook, which has its northerly source in or very near the same, and discharges eight miles above Concord; by which, water-carriage from Boston might be increased to three hundred miles; not with a view of engaging the corporation in any additional expense, already too great; but to lead the board to consider, at some convenient time, the means of calling the public, and even legislative attention to an object of so much importance to the whole community, at least so far as to ascertain its practicability and probable cost from actual survey. This point indeed might be settled for a few hundred dollars. The committee have only to add, that they found the Middlesex canal in an improved state and perfect operation.

"AARON DENTON.
"BENJAMIN WELD.
"ANDREW SIGOURNEY.
"B. JOY.
} Committee."

interesting to others; and that efforts to preserve them will be considered as either trifling or arrogant. In no country, probably, are the inhabitants more inquisitive than in New-England. But their inquiries terminate, or have until lately terminated, chiefly in things remote in time or place, and have been very little occupied by subjects pertaining to their own country. It is perhaps natural to man to feel, that his own concerns, or any concerns which are familiar to him, will be little regarded by those who come after him. Few parents are solicitous to have their own portraits taken; yet, after their decease, scarcely any legacy is thought more valuable by their children*.

In the year 1697, on the 5th day of March, a body of Indians attacked this town, burnt a small number of houses, and killed and captivated about forty of the inhabitants. A party of them, arrayed in all the terrors of the Indian war-dress, and carrying with them the multiplied horrors of a savage invasion, approached near to the house of a Mr. Dustan. This man was abroad at his usual labour. Upon the first alarm, he flew to the house, with a hope of hurrying to a place of safety his family, consisting of his wife, who had been confined a week only in child-bed, her nurse, a Mrs. Mary Teff, a widow from the neighbourhood, and eight children. Seven of his children he ordered to flee with the utmost expedition in the course opposite to that in which the danger was approaching, and went himself to assist his wife. Before she could leave her bed, the savages were upon them. Her husband, despairing of rendering her any service, flew to the door, mounted his horse, and determined to snatch up the child, with which he was unable to part, when he should overtake the little flock. When he

* I beg leave to return my thanks, in form, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for the honourable and successful efforts which they have made to preserve the knowledge which still remains of the persons who have lived, and the events which have taken place in New-England and elsewhere in the United States, since their colonization. Their collection contains a large fund of valuable information, which was rapidly passing into oblivion, and will be remembered with gratitude, as well as with high respect, by their intelligent countrymen, in every future period.

came up to them, about two hundred yards from his house, he was unable to make a choice, or to leave any one of the number. He therefore determined to take his lot with them, and to defend them from their murderers, or die by their side. A body of the Indians pursued, and came up with him, and from near distances fired at him and his little company. He returned the fire, and retreated alternately. For more than a mile he kept so resolute a face to his enemy, retiring in the rear of his charge; returned the fire of the savages so often, and with so good success, and sheltered so effectually his terrified companions, that he finally lodged them all safe from the pursuing butchers, in a distant house. When it is remembered how numerous his assailants were, how bold, when an overmatch for their enemies, how active, and what excellent marksmen, a devout mind will consider the hand of Providence as unusually visible in the preservation of this family.

Another party of the Indians entered the house immediately after Mr. Dustan had quitted it, and found Mrs. Dustan and her nurse, who was attempting to fly with the infant in her arms. Mrs. Dustan they ordered to rise instantly; and, before she could completely dress herself, obliged her and her companion to quit the house, after they had plundered it, and set it on fire. In company with several other captives, they began their march into the wilderness, she feeble, sick, terrified beyond measure, partially clad, one of her feet bare, and the season utterly unfit for comfortable travelling. The air was chilly and keen, and the earth covered, alternately, with snow and deep mud. Her conductors were unfeeling, insolent, and revengeful. Murder was their glory, and torture their sport. Her infant was in her nurse's arms; and infants were the customary victims of savage barbarity.

The company had proceeded but a short distance, when an Indian, thinking it an incumbrance, took the child out of the nurse's arms, and dashed its head against a tree. What were then the feelings of the mother?

Such of the other captives as began to be weary, and to lag, the Indians tomahawked. The slaughter was not an act of revenge nor of cruelty. It was a mere conve-

nience; an effort so familiar, as not even to excite an emotion.

Feeble as Mrs. Dustan was, both she and her nurse sustained, without yielding, the fatigue of the journey. Their intense distress for the death of the child, and of their companions, anxiety for those whom they had left behind, and unceasing terror for themselves, raised these unhappy women to such a degree of vigour, that, notwithstanding their fatigue, their exposure to cold, their sufferance of hunger, and their sleeping on damp ground under an inclement sky, they finished an expedition of about one hundred and fifty miles, without losing their spirits, or injuring their health.

The weekwam, to which they were conducted, and which belonged to the savage, who had claimed them as his property, was inhabited by twelve persons. In the month of April this family set out with their captives for an Indian settlement, still more remote, and informed them, that when they arrived at the settlement, they must be stripped, scourged, and run the gauntlet, naked, between two files of Indians, containing the whole number found in the settlement; for such, they declared, was the standing custom of their nation. This information, you will believe, made a deep impression on the minds of the captive women; and led them, irresistibly, to devise all the possible means of escape. On the 31st of the same month, very early in the morning, Mrs. Dustan, while the Indians were asleep, having awaked her nurse, and a fellow prisoner (a youth taken some time before from Worcester), dispatched, with the assistance of her companions, ten of the twelve Indians. The other two escaped. With the scalps of these savages they returned through the wilderness; and, having arrived safely at Haverhill, and afterwards at Boston, received a handsome reward for their intrepid conduct from the legislature.

Whether all their sufferings, and all the danger of suffering anew, justified this slaughter, may probably be questioned by you, or some other exact moralist. Precedents innumerable, and of high authority, may indeed be urged in behalf of these captives; but the moralist will equally question the rectitude of these. Few persons, however, agonizing as Mrs. Dustan

did, under the evils which she had already suffered, and in the full apprehension of those which she was destined to suffer, would have been able to act the part of nice casuists; and fewer still, perhaps, would have exercised her intrepidity. That she herself approved of the conduct, which was applauded by the magistrates and divines of the day, in the cool hours of deliberation, cannot be doubted. The truth is, the season of Indian invasion, burning, butchering, captivity, threatening, and torture, is an unfortunate time for nice investigation and critical moralizing. A wife, who had just seen her house burnt, her infant dashed against a tree, and her companions coldly murdered one by one; who supposed her husband, and her remaining children, to have shared the same fate; who was threatened with torture, and indecency more painful than torture; and who did not entertain a doubt, that the threatening would be fulfilled; would probably feel no necessity, when she found it in her power to dispatch the authors of her sufferings, of asking questions concerning any thing but the success of the enterprise.

But, whatever may be thought of the rectitude of her conduct, that of her husband is in every view honourable. A finer succession of scenes for the pencil was hardly ever presented to the eye, than is furnished by the efforts of this gallant man, with their interesting appendages. The artist must be destitute indeed of talents, who could not engross every heart, as well as every eye, by exhibitions of this husband and father flying to rescue his wife, her infant, and her nurse, from the approaching horde of savages, attempting on his horse to select from his flying family the child which he was the least able to spare, and unable to make the selection; facing, in their rear, the horde of hell hounds; alternately and sternly retreating behind his inestimable charge, and fronting the enemy again, receiving and returning their fire, and presenting himself equally as a barrier against murderers, and a shelter to the flight of innocence and anguish. In the back ground of some or other of these pictures might be exhibited, with powerful impression, the kindled dwelling, the sickly mother, the terrified nurse, with the new-born infant in her arms, and the furious natives surrounding them, driving them for-

ward, and displaying the trophies of savage victory, and the insolence of savage triumph.

In the year 1708, this unfortunate town was again attacked by a body of French and Indians, sent by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, to attack Portsmouth. This company is supposed to have consisted at first of more than four hundred men; but, being wasted by sickness and desertion, they were afraid to attempt that town. A design was then formed to attack Dover, and after that Exeter; but, being diverted from this intention, they turned their course to Haverhill. These men were commanded by Monsieur Perriere de Chaillons, and Monsieur Hertel de Rouville, the Gallic savage, who a little before had destroyed Deerfield. They expected to have been joined by the Indians of Maine and New-Hampshire. For a reason, which does not appear, these people declined taking any part in the enterprise. Those who remained of the army, one half of which was composed of savages, proceeded, according to the orders of the governor, to accomplish the object of their expedition; or, in other words, to burn private dwellings, and to butcher defenceless women and children.

Intelligence of this expedition had reached Boston; and guards had been sent to this and other towns exposed to the common danger. The guards at Haverhill were, however, so posted, that the enemy passed them without being discovered: and on the 29th of August, attacked, burnt, and plundered a considerable part of the town. Most of the adult male inhabitants within the town were killed; among whom was the Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, the clergyman, and Captain Wainwright, the commander of the militia. It is worthy of remembrance, that a maid-servant of Mr. Rolfe escaped from her bed, with two of his daughters, to the cellar; and, covering each of them with a large tub, effectually concealed them from their enemies.

The guards, assembling from their scattered posts, pursued the invaders; and, coming up with them just as they were entering the forests, fought them about an hour, when they retreated into the forest, leaving two of their officers, and seven of their men on the field. Had the advantage

been pursued, the party might not improbably have been cut off.

In the year 1790, Haverhill contained 330 dwelling-houses, and 2,408 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 362 dwelling-houses, and 2,732 inhabitants; and, in the year 1810, 2,682.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XL.

Plaistow. Kingston. Exeter: its Academy. Effect of Easterly Wind. Pascataqua Bridge and River. Dover: Cruelty of the Indians: Death of Major Waldron. Story of Mrs. Heard. Somersworth. Berwick; attacked by the Indians. Death of Robert Rogers. View of the White Mountains. Inns of New-England.

DEAR SIR;

ON Tuesday afternoon, October 4th, we rode through Plaistow, three miles; Kingston, twelve; to Exeter, eighteen. This tract is chiefly composed of small hills and vallies, not very pleasant, and two or three plains, still less inviting.

Plaistow, now included in New-Hampshire, was originally a part of Haverhill. The soil is good; yet, when we passed through it in this journey, the husbandry, the houses, and the circumstances of the inhabitants, were apparently indifferent. They have since made a much better appearance. When the dividing line between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire was finally settled, the little tract, which is now the town of Plaistow, fell within the limits of New-Hampshire. It is wholly composed of plantations, was incorporated in 1749, and contained, in 1790, 521 inhabitants; in 1800, 459; and, in 1810, 424.

Kingston, on the road, is chiefly a pine plain. It contains a scattered hamlet near the church. The houses throughout the town are indifferent. The soil is light and thin, the cultivation very ordinary, and the whole appearance of the country unpromising.

Kingston was incorporated in 1694, and contained, in 1790, 906 inhabitants; in 1800, 785; and, in 1810, 746. There is but one congregation in each of these townships.

Exeter is a considerable town, situated on the falls of Squamscut, or Exeter river, a branch of the Pascataqua, about fourteen miles from Portsmouth. The tide flows up this river to the town, where its progress is terminated by a ridge of rocks. The highest rise of the tide is about eleven feet. The river is therefore navigable to these falls for vessels of five hundred tons. At a small distance above the town, the Squamscut is joined by another stream, called Little river. On these waters are erected eight grist-mills, six saw-mills, two oil-mills, two chocolate-mills, two fulling-mills, one paper-mill, one snuff-mill, one slitting-mill, and a furnace. In the summer, however, there is sufficient water for the grist-mills and fulling-mills only.

Granite, though not without considerable labour, is here wrought into handsome materials for building. Marl has been found here.

The soil of Exeter is various. The centre of the township is a fertile plain, particularly favourable to the growth of maize. I was very credibly informed, that, although planted year by year for a great length of time, and cultivated with a husbandry moderately skilful, it still yields plentiful crops. Some parts of the township are good, some indifferent, and others poor. All of them, however, might easily, with a superior cultivation, become more productive than the proprietors could be induced to believe.

Exeter contains about two hundred and twenty houses, of which many are indifferent, many decent, and some of a still higher class. The court-house is a good building; one of the churches very ordinary, and the other handsome. This structure is of wood, and was erected at the expense of seventeen thousand dollars.

I have already mentioned Exeter academy. It was founded in the year 1781 by the Honourable John Phillips, LL. D., of this town. Its funds, which, as is said, amount to about 80,000 dollars, were almost all given by this gentleman. The interest of 6,666 dollars 67 cents, or £1,500 sterling, is appropriated to the purpose of boarding poor scholars, of promising characters, while they are qualifying themselves to enter upon a collegiate education. This institution, like that of Andover, is eminently respectable and prosperous. The academical

building is a handsome structure, standing at the bottom of a spacious yard, about one-fourth of a mile south-west of the court-house. It is seventy-six feet in length, and thirty-six in breadth, and contains all the accommodations, either necessary or convenient, for the system of education pursued here, and is superior to any other building destined to the same purpose within my knowledge.

This academy is under the direction of seven trustees, a preceptor, and an assistant. The number of students is usually from sixty to eighty.

The trade of Exeter is much smaller than it was formerly; five or six vessels only being employed by the inhabitants in foreign commerce. A manufactory of sail-cloth and twine was established here, in 1790 or 1791, by Thomas Odiorne, Esq., and has met with some success. Ship-building was heretofore a considerable and profitable business in this town. Since the revolution it has declined. A few vessels, however, are built annually, and a great quantity of saddlery is manufactured; more, probably, than in any other town in New-England.

The morals of the inhabitants have been much improved during the last half century. Formerly, they were employed to a great extent in the business of getting lumber. The effects of this dissolute business I shall consider hereafter. Suffice it now to say, that such of the people of Exeter as were engaged in it were poor, idle, haunters of taverns, and devoted to all the baser pursuits of vulgar vice. In consequence of the termination of this business, industry has succeeded to sloth, regularity to dissoluteness, thrift to poverty, and comfort and reputation to suffering and shame.

Exeter, though low and flat, is eminently healthy. The principal inconvenience of climate in this region, and all along this coast, an inconvenience supposed by some persons to have increased gradually for many years, in consequence of disforesting the country, is the prevalence of easterly winds. Throughout the months of April and May they predominate, and blow with an efficacy unknown in the western parts of New-England. The delicate fruits are often destroyed by their chilling influence. Even the leaves of some of the tender trees are at times so agitated by these blasts as to perish. On the peninsula of Cape Cod, the inhabitants defend their

orchards by trees of a more hardy nature. The same expedient might probably be repeated elsewhere with advantage.

These winds are generally considered as peculiarly unfavourable to persons of slender constitutions, especially to those who are liable to pulmonic diseases. It has been supposed, that one-third, or at least one fourth, of the deaths, which take place here, are produced by the consumption.

The inhabitants of this town have been distinguished by a meritorious attention to their schools.

Exeter was settled by a number of people from Braintree in Massachusetts, and was incorporated in 1638. For a long period the inhabitants were distressed by the inroads of the savages, although less than several of the neighbouring settlements. So great were the discouragements from this source, that there were only twenty voters so late as the year 1680. In the year 1697, it was remarkably preserved by the following accident:—A number of the women and children, having imprudently ventured into the fields to gather strawberries, some men, returning from their work, fired an alarm-gun to frighten them. At this moment a body of Indians lay concealed in the skirts of the town. Upon hearing the gun they imagined themselves to be discovered, and fled.

The number of inhabitants in Exeter, in 1775, was 1,741; in 1790, 1,722; in 1800, 1,727; and, in 1810, 1,759.

A number of intelligent, genteel, and very respectable families reside in this town.

On the morning of Wednesday, October 5th, we rode to Pascataqua bridge, through Stratham and Greenland, fifteen miles; and, in the afternoon, through Dover, four and a half; and Somersworth, nine, to Berwick, ten and a half: in all twenty-five and a half miles.

The face of the country for the first eleven or twelve miles is a beautiful interchange of small hills and vallies, strongly resembling those of North-Andover. The road is good, the scenery pleasant, and the soil rich. The remainder of the distance to the bridge is principally an unanimated and barren plain, where, except some distant mountains, there was scarcely an object to invite the eye of a traveller.

We were, however, abundantly paid for this interval of

dulness by the appearance of the bridge. This structure stands in a region which gives it every advantage to make a striking impression on the mind. The northern shore is rude, wild, and solitary. A few lonely farm-houses were seen, scattered over an unpromising surface, and sequestered in a great measure from human society. Around them was spread a confusion of rough rocks and melancholy shrubs, and a gloomy cluster of evergreens*. The river, from half a mile to perhaps three miles in breadth, extending in full view for a great length, varied the prospect in a very magnificent, but very solemn manner. While occupied by this landscape, we came suddenly upon the bridge; an enormous structure, twenty-six hundred feet in length, of an interesting figure, finished with great beauty and elegance; new, white, and brilliant. There are at this place two islands in the river; one, next to the southern shore, an oblong, narrow rock; the other, of sufficient extent for the scite of a house, garden, and some other enclosures. On this island a handsome house, with pretty appendages, presented an entire contrast to every other building in view. The whole scene had the appearance of enchantment, and in Arabia might not unnaturally have been attributed to the hand of a genie.

Pascataqua bridge is formed of three sections, two of them horizontal, the third arched. The whole is built of timber; the horizontal parts on wooden piers, or trestles, distant from each other twenty-three feet. Of these there are one hundred and twenty-six. Sixty-one on the north-western, and sixty-five on the south-eastern side of the arch. The arch, like those of Haverhill bridge, is triple, but no part of the work is over head. The chord is two hundred and forty-four feet, and the versed sine nine feet and ten inches. This arch is the largest in the United States, contains more than seventy tons of timber, and was framed with such exactness, that not a single stick was taken out after it had been once put in its place. The whole length of the planking is two thousand two hundred and forty-four feet. The remaining three hundred and fifty-six are made up by the abutments, and the island

* This scenery was exceedingly changed before the year 1813.

already mentioned. The expense was sixty-eight thousand dollars.

This is by far the most interesting structure of the kind which I have ever seen. Like the face in a well-contrived portrait, it is surrounded by such objects as leave the eye to rest on the principal one, and the mind to feel but a single impression. The intention of erecting it was to open a communication between Portsmouth and the interior of the state, and to divert its trade from Boston, Newburyport, and Portland, by which it has hitherto been engrossed. This bridge lies in a direct course to the heart of the state, and a turnpike road was originally intended to be opened from it to Concord, on the Merrimac, and thence to Connecticut river. A company had been formed for this purpose before we visited this country, and the road has since been completed. Considerable advantages must, I think, be derived from it to Portsmouth; and the bridge itself has become moderately good property.

Pascataqua river is formed by the junction of several small streams in a wide and deep bed, hollowed out partly by them, and partly by the tide. The names of these streams, beginning at the north-east, are Salmon-fall, Cocheco, Back, Oyster, Lamprey, Squamscut, and Winnicut, rivers. The five last unite their waters in a large and irregular bay, lying from south-west to north-east, and more resembling a lake than a river. The waters of this bay meet those of Salmon-fall and Cocheco rivers, coming from the north-west at Hilton's point, a few miles below Dover, and nearly at the same distance above Portsmouth. After this junction they proceed in a direct line to the south-east, and join the ocean two or three miles below Portsmouth, embosoming several islands, and forming one of the best harbours on the continent. Few rivers make a more magnificent appearance than this. Yet the streams by which it is supplied are small. Nine-tenths of the water which it contains are derived immediately from the ocean. Salmon-fall river furnishes more than all the others, and ought to retain the name of Pascataqua.

The country between the bridge and Dover is undulating; of a cold soil, and covered principally with white-pines. It presents nothing alluring to the eye.

Dover, originally Cocheco, was settled in 1623, and incorporated in 1633. It is built on the southern side of the river, which bears that name. It is the shire-town of Strafford, a large county, extending northward from Dover almost a degree of latitude, and westward to the waters of the Merrimac, almost a degree of longitude. It terminates in a point at the south-east, in which are situated the towns of Dover and Durham. The site of Dover is chiefly a declivity. The buildings are substantial and decent, but formed with very little taste or beauty. A small number of them only are painted, and most of these with a dull, disagreeable colour. There is nothing sprightly in the appearance of the town, except the activity of its inhabitants.

The commerce of Dover consists chiefly in lumber. This material is daily diminishing, and in a short time will probably fail. Whether a substitute can be provided by the inhabitants I am ignorant.

From the settlement of Dover until the year 1675, the planters appear to have lived, generally, in peace with the savages. In Philip's war, several inroads were made upon the scattered settlements within the township. Some of the inhabitants were killed, and a few houses destroyed. In the year 1689, the Indians killed and captivated more than fifty of these people, and burned some of their houses, together with the mills in the neighbourhood. On this occasion Major Waldron, a celebrated partizan, of great bravery and reputation, who had been president of New-Hampshire, was betrayed and murdered. The Indians were professedly at peace with the English. With every appearance of good-will, a sachem, named Mesandowit, and two Indian women, applied to Major Waldron for permission to lodge in his house, which was fortified and garrisoned. They were accordingly admitted and hospitably entertained. The same night, while the family were asleep, these fiends opened the door. A body of their warriors, as had been preconcerted, immediately rushed in and forced the room in which this venerable champion, then eighty years of age, lay. He seized his sword and drove them out of the room. But one of them, who had stolen behind him, knocked him down with a hatchet. They then seated him in an elbow-chair upon a table; cut him across the breast and belly; severed

his nose and ears, and forced them into his mouth; and finally, placing his sword under him as he fell, terminated his gallant and useful life. To finish the tragedy, they killed or captivated the rest of the family, and set the house on fire.

At this time, a Mrs. Heard, together with a daughter, three sons, and several other persons, was returning from Portsmouth. When they came near to Dover, they were alarmed by the noise of the firing, and the war-whoop. The anguish which they felt for their families induced them to advance farther up the river, and land one-fourth of a mile from Major Waldron's garrison. When they had come within sight of Mrs. Heard's house, garrisoned also, they saw lights in the windows, and ran to it for protection. They knocked and called, but no answer was given. One of the company, climbing the wall and looking over it, discovered an Indian at a small distance, with a musket in his hand. Exhausted and agonizing, Mrs. Heard bade her children and companions make the best shift they could, while she herself sat down, to meet death on the spot. In a short time, however, she began to recover her strength and spirits, and betook herself for safety to a thicket, about a furlong from the house. Here an Indian came up to her, with a pistol in his hand; looked at her, and without saying a word withdrew. A few minutes after he returned again, and again left her in the same manner. She then attempted to cross the river in vain, and, returning to her retreat, continued there until the savages decamped.

Having thus wonderfully escaped from destruction, she had the satisfaction to find her house preserved. It had been vigorously assaulted by the enemy; but it had, also, been bravely defended. It stood in the skirt of the town, nearest to the forest. By the prudence and heroism of this lady it was defended through a ten years' war. Though often and strongly solicited to place herself in security among her friends at Portsmouth, she determined to keep her station. How few men would have continued at this post of honour when pressed by such solicitation! Mrs. Heard was a woman of distinguished piety*.

* Dr. Belknap observes, that a young Indian had taken refuge in her house from the English; that she concealed him; that he promised never to kill her or any of her family, and to use his influence with his countrymen

During the several succeeding wars, this town and its neighbourhood suffered many injuries of the same nature. Nor did these evils cease, until the reduction of Canada. Canada was the baleful spring whence issued these waters of bitterness; and wherever they ran, they diffused poison and death.

In the year 1790, Dover contained 1,998 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,062; and, in 1810, 2,228.

Somersworth, the next town to Dover, lies on the north-eastern side of the Cocheco, and the south-western side of Salmon-fall river. It is composed of scattered plantations, and a small, compact, and pretty village, on the bank of the last-mentioned stream. Its surface, except a small plain around the church, is agreeably undulating, and the soil sensibly better than that which was last mentioned. The houses in the village resemble those in Dover. The church is an indifferent building.

In 1790, Somersworth contained 943 inhabitants; in 1800, 932; and, in 1810, 878.

It was incorporated in 1754.

Berwick, which is separated from Somersworth by Salmon-fall river, is the first settlement in the district of Maine, on this road; and is distant from Boston seventy-six miles, north; and from Portsmouth sixteen, north-west. It consists of two great divisions, a trading-village, lying about two miles along the river, and a collection of farms. The township is large; the houses numerous and good; proofs of prosperity, but not exhibitions of taste. The public buildings, except an academy, standing on an eminence a little eastward of the road, we did not see. The academy was incorporated in 1791.

The trade and wealth of this town are considerable. The principal material of its commerce is lumber.

to the same purpose; that he was one of this party, and that he was well known to the inhabitants. These facts he seems to consider as explaining the remarkable preservation of Mrs. Heard, which may thus have been owing to the gratitude and justice of this Indian. Dr. Mather, however, declares, that her house was one of the first which were assaulted, and that it was bravely defended. It seems difficult to suppose the savages would attempt to destroy her house, her family, and herself (for they must have believed her to be in it), and yet had justice and gratitude enough to preserve her afterwards. Yet I confess myself unable to account for this fact, on any considerations equally probable.

Berwick was incorporated in 1713; but was settled much earlier, it should seem about the year 1644. At this time it was a part of Kittery. You will naturally suppose, from its position, that it must have taken its share of the common sufferings from savage invasion. In the year 1690, March 18th, it was attacked by a body of French and Indians, under the command of Hertel de Bouville, and Whoop Hood, a sachem. About thirty of the inhabitants were killed, and more than fifty carried into captivity. The invaders were followed and attacked on their retreat by a body of English, consisting of about one hundred and forty men. A few were killed on both sides, when night terminated the conflict, and enabled the enemy to escape. The English were destitute of snow-shoes, and therefore unable to pursue them.

One of the prisoners, named Robert Rogers, a corpulent man, being loaded with a heavy pack, found it impossible to keep pace with his captors. When he had fallen behind them, thinking himself out of their reach, he threw down his load and attempted to make his escape. The savages pursued him to a hollow tree, in which he endeavoured to conceal himself; and, forcing him out, stripped him, beat him, and pricked him forward on the journey, until the evening arrived. They then made a feast for themselves; and, tying the prisoner to a tree (his hands being fastened behind his back), sang, shouted, and danced around him. When they had sufficiently amused themselves in this manner, they made a great fire near the unfortunate man; bade him take leave of his friends, and allowed him a momentary respite to offer up his prayers to God. After this, they moved the fire forward and roasted him by degrees; and, when they found him failing, withdrew the fire again to a greater distance. Then they danced around him; cut, at each turn, pieces of flesh from his perishing frame; laughed at his agonies, and added new pangs to this horrible death by insults and mockeries. With a refinement in cruelty not obvious to civilized man, they placed the rest of the prisoners just without the fire, that they might be witnesses of the catastrophe. With the same spirit, after his death, they seated his body, still bound to the tree, on the burning coals, that his friends might, at some future time, be racked by the sight.

Such was one among innumerable specimens of Indian cruelty. Such are the benefits of that state of savageness, which approximates nearest to the state of nature. Let modern philosophers look on, and learn here how romantically innocent, gentle, and amiable, man becomes in this, which they have been pleased to extol as the state of human perfection. In the next panegyric, which is pronounced on the state of nature by one of these gentlemen, it is to be hoped, that he will recite, as a proof of its beneficent and delightful influence, the story of Robert Rogers.

In the year 1790, Berwick contained 3,894 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 3,891; and, in 1810, 4,455.

Thursday, October 6th, we proceeded on our journey to Rogers' Inn, eight miles from the bridge, and found the road so inconvenient, that, after some deliberation, we concluded to return. The carts of this country are made eight inches wider than in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for the purpose of carrying lumber. The track, or rut, formed by the wheels of these heavy-laden wains is very deep, and becomes not only inconvenient, but dangerous to carriages of a shorter axle. We struggled with these troublesome roads for some time, before we reluctantly gave up the remainder of our proposed journey.

Our host having informed us, that at Sanford, four miles north-west from his house, the White Mountains were visible; we took our horses and rode to an eminence, named Oak Hill, the spot where, as he told us, this interesting object might be seen. The day was bright and clear, and Mount Washington, the highest of these summits, was in full view. The computed distance, not far from the real one, is ninety miles. The colour of this summit was a blue, approximating to white. It was misty and dim, but easily distinguishable. Immediately before a storm, it is said to loom in an extraordinary manner, *i. e.* to rise apparently, to seem nearer, and to become more distinct to the eye than at other times.

In the afternoon we began our progress to Boston by Piscataqua bridge, and rode to Somersworth, where we lodged at an excellent house, kept by a Captain R. This gentleman (for he amply merits the title) had just buried his wife, and quitted the business of an innkeeper. With some persuasion

he consented, however, to lodge us; but with evident apprehensions, that we should find less agreeable accommodations than we wished. The treatment, which we received from him and all his, was such as favourite friends might have expected from a very hospitable and well-bred family. I never found an inn more agreeable. The tenderness and respect with which our host spoke of his deceased wife would, indeed, of themselves have rendered ordinary entertainment sufficiently pleasing to us.

Your countrymen so often laugh at the fact, that inns in New-England are kept by persons whose titles indicate them to be men of some consequence, that I suspect you will smile at the preceding paragraph. An innkeeper in Great Britain, if I have not been misinformed, has usually no other respectability in the eye of his countrymen, beside what he derives from his property, his civil manners, and his exact attention to the wishes of his guests. The fact is otherwise in New-England. Our ancestors considered an inn as a place where corruption would naturally arise, and might easily spread; as a place where travellers must trust themselves, their horses, baggage, and money; where women, as well as men, must at times lodge, might need humane and delicate offices, and might be subjected to disagreeable exposures. To provide for safety and comfort, and against danger and mischief, in all these cases, they took particular pains in their laws and administrations to prevent inns from being kept by vicious, unprincipled, worthless men. Every innkeeper in Connecticut must be recommended by the selectmen and civil authority, constables and grand jurors of the town, in which he resides; and then licensed at the discretion of the court of common pleas. Substantially in the same manner is the business regulated in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. In consequence of this system, men of no small personal respectability have ever kept inns in this country. Here the contempt, with which Englishmen regard this subject, is not experienced and is unknown. Any honest business is of course respectable, when it is usually found in respectable hands. Whatever employment, on the contrary, is ordinarily pursued, or whatever station is filled by worthless and despicable men, will itself soon become despicable.

This subject has been so long made a topic of ridicule, that it has attracted my attention to some extent. A course of observation has convinced me, that our ancestors were directed in their views concerning it by wisdom only. Unhappily, we have departed from their system in instances sufficiently numerous to show, but too plainly, our own folly. A great part of the New-England innkeepers, however, and their families, treat a decent stranger, who behaves civilly to them, in such a manner as to show him plainly that they feel an interest in his happiness; and, if he is sick or unhappy, will cheerfully contribute every thing in their power to his relief. However smart, then, your countrymen may be upon this subject, permit me to wish that mine will for a long time select none but respectable men to be their innkeepers*.

Friday, October 7th, we left this excellent house, and rode to Pascataqua bridge to breakfast; and thence to Portsmouth to dinner.

* The following extracts from the Duke de la Rochefoucault will illustrate these remarks:—

"Although excessively ill, I was sensible of my dreadful situation, being thus laid on a bed of sickness among people who had never seen me before; and this idea threw me into great agitation of mind, which bordered on despair. But fortunately the family in whose house I had stopped were the best people in the world. Both men and women took as much care of me as if I had been their own child, especially the women, young and old (for the family is very numerous), nursed me with the utmost attention. I had there another fit of the fever, which rendered me delirious, and afforded me additional ground to praise this excellent family. (The family of Captain Williams, of Marlborough, Massachusetts.)

"I must repeat it once more, that I cannot bestow too much praise on the kindness of this excellent people. Being a stranger, utterly unacquainted with them, sick, and appearing in the garb of mediocrity bordering on indigence, I possessed not the least claim on the hospitality of this respectable family, but such as their own kindness and humanity could suggest; and yet, during the five days I continued in their house, they neglected their own business to nurse me with the tenderest care and with unwearied solicitude. They heightened still more the generosity of their conduct, by making up their account in a manner so extremely reasonable, that three times the amount would not have been too much for the trouble I had caused them. May this respectable family ever enjoy the blessings they so well deserve! This shall be my constant, fervent wish until my last moment."

From the bridge to Portsmouth, six miles, the surface is undulating, like that of the neighbourhood. The road is very good. The fields are generally devoted to pasturage. A fourth in some instances, a third in others, and one half in others still, is covered with barberry-bushes. A traveller must, from this husbandry, form a very unfavourable opinion of the industry and skill of the proprietors.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XLI.

Portsmouth. Greenland. Northampton. Hampton. Hampton Falls. Salisbury. Newbury. Newburyport. Rowley. Ipswich. Hamilton. Wenham. Beverly. Salem: its Public Buildings, Harbour, Enterprise and Industry of the Inhabitants. Rev. Dr. Prince. Hugh Peters. Commerce of Salem. Danvers. Account of the Witchcraft of that Place, and Reflections.

DEAR SIR;

PORTSMOUTH is the principal town in the state of New-Hampshire, and the only sea port which it contains. Its whole coast extends not more than nineteen miles, and furnishes no harbour beside this.

Portsmouth is built on a beautiful peninsula, on the south side of Pascataqua river, united with the main land by a narrow isthmus on the north-west, and by a bridge over a small inlet on the south. The surface of the peninsula is uneven and beautiful. As seen from the towers of the steeples, the opposite shore of Kittery, the river, the harbour, the ocean, the points, the islands, the town, and the adjacent country, form a delightful assemblage of objects.

According to the enumeration and assessment, directed by congress in July, 1798, there were in this town 626 dwelling-houses. Of these 86 were of one story, 524 of two, and 16 of three. A number of others, almost universally of a superior class, have been built since that time. In this assessment, Portsmouth and New-Market were united in a district: 609 houses were assessed in both; the estimated value of which was 916,731 dollars. The lands in these two townships, assessed at the same time, amounted to 495,226 dollars. A considerable number of houses in Portsmouth must certainly

have fallen beneath the lower rate of assessment. Almost all of them, as in most other places throughout New-England, are built of wood. When a traveller observes the contiguity of many, and the proximity of almost all the rest, he cannot but shudder at the thought of their exposure to a conflagration. In my own mind, I confess, a continual alarm irresistibly prevailed while I was surveying a number of towns in this country, formed of the most combustible materials, and inviting the flames by their contiguity, in a season so favourable to their progress, in such a manner as to prevent every hope of successful opposition*.

Still it would seem, that Portsmouth has suffered very little from fire. Had not the providence of God watched over this and many other towns in New-England with more care than they have exercised for themselves, one would think they must long since have been laid in ashes.

There are in Portsmouth thirty-one streets, thirty-eight lanes, ten alleys, and three public squares. The squares are not remarkable either for their size or their beauty. A few of the streets are wide and pleasant; most of them are narrow and disagreeable. The town was laid out without any regard to regularity. Had the contrary system been pursued, very few would have been equally handsome.

Portsmouth contains seven congregations: two Presbyterian, one Independent, one Episcopal, one Baptist, one Sandemanian, and one Universalist. The Presbyterian and Episcopal congregations are considerable in their numbers; the Independent small; the Universalist smaller still†. The Sandemanian contained, in 1796, about twenty members, and the church three.

A new brick market was erected here in the year 1800: eighty feet long, thirty wide, and of two stories. The lower story is occupied by the market, the other is a town-hall.

* In a note to the Rev. Mr. Alden's centurial sermon, eleven houses, the county gaol, and a few other buildings, are mentioned as having been burnt in Portsmouth. I suppose these to be all which were then known. In the course of a few years after this passage was originally written, three great fires occurred in this town, by which a large proportion of the buildings was destroyed.

† It has lately become much more numerous.

This building is the handsomest of the kind within my knowledge.

By the side of Portsmouth-pier, which is three hundred and forty feet in length, and sixty in breadth, there is a single building three hundred and twenty feet long, thirty wide, and of three stories, divided into fourteen stores. At the time when this building was erected, it made a better appearance than any other in New-England destined to the same purpose. The state-house is barely a decent structure.

The western and northern parts of this town are rendered very pleasant by a great number of neat, well-cultivated gardens.

The commerce of Portsmouth employed, in the year 1800, twenty-eight ships, forty-seven brigs, ten schooners, two sloops, and one bark; beside twenty coasting vessels, and a still greater number occupied in fishing. In the year ending September 30th, 1794, the customs collected in this port amounted to 46,991 dollars. In the year ending September 30th, 1799, they amounted to 89,384 dollars. Its trade and wealth have greatly increased within a moderate number of years. Of the improvements which have been made in it since that period, I shall take notice in another place.

In the year 1791, twenty-seven schooners, twenty boats, and two hundred and fifty seamen, were employed in the cod and whale fishery, beside those which belonged to the Isles of Shoals. The product of the fishery was,

Quintals of merchantable fish	5,170
of Jamaica fish	14,217
of scale fish	6,463
	25,850

The fishing this year was unusually successful.

The harbour of Portsmouth is sufficiently deep for vessels of any burthen; secured effectually against every storm; and in consequence of the great rise of the tide, the rapidity of the current, and the narrowness of the channel, is never frozen. The river itself is always open, up to Hilton's point, where the several branches meet, about seven miles from its mouth. This harbour might be easily defended against any force.

The greatest inconvenience under which the commerce of Portsmouth labours is a want of a ready communication with the interior country, and of sufficient means, perhaps, to allure to itself the trade of the inhabitants.

The following abstract of duties on imports will enable you to form an imperfect idea of the commerce of this town. The imports are to be estimated in each case at four times the amount of the duties.

Years.	Duties.
1801 . . . . . Dollars,	165,614
1802	154,087
1803	165,331
1804	210,410
1805	170,764
1806	222,596
1807	170,550
1808	61,231
1809	55,892
1810	61,464

These duties, as well as those in every other list contained in this work, are calculated from the first of January to the last of December; while the exports and imports commence, annually, on the first of October, and terminate with the 30th of September of the following year.

The people of Portsmouth have ever been friendly to literature. For seven years, beginning with 1669, they paid, by subscription, fifty pounds per annum to the overseers of Harvard college, for the benefit of that institution. When the infant state of the town, at that time, is considered, this contribution must be acknowledged as an honourable proof of liberality to learning.

The manners of the inhabitants are of the same polished, pleasing character so extensively seen along this coast.

On Great-Island, at the harbour's mouth, stands the town of Newcastle, containing seventy families, the remains of Fort-Sullivan, a fortress named Fort-Washington, and the light-house, with a single light.

The settlement of Portsmouth was begun under the auspices of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, in 1623. In 1633 it was incorporated. From the time, when New-

Hampshire became a separate government, in 1680, to the American revolution, the legislature held its sessions in this town. Since that period they have met at Concord, Exeter, Amherst, &c.

From the peculiar advantages of its situation, Portsmouth appears almost wholly to have escaped the ravages of the Indians. Secured on three sides by the Pascataqua, the ocean, and the inlet heretofore mentioned, it was accessible to savages only by the isthmus, which connects it with the main. It was also compactly built, and the number of its inhabitants was at an early date considerable. I remember but one expedition of any importance, commenced for the destruction of this place, and that was discouraged at a distance. In the year 1775, Portsmouth contained 4,590 inhabitants; in 1790, 4,720; in 1800, 5,339; and, in 1810, 6,934.

The census of 1800 is here believed to have been erroneously taken, and the real number is supposed to have been at least 6,000. It is to be remembered, however, that most people, in every considerable town, estimate their numbers above the truth*.

* The following note, if I mistake not, was written by the Rev. Mr. Alden, then one of the ministers of Portsmouth:—

"Died, at Sagamore creek, on Friday morning, the 17th, Mr. Benjamin Lear, eighty-two years of age, and was interred the following day on his own land.

"It is presumed, that no man ever died, within the limits of Portsmouth, who deserved the name of hermit more than Mr. Lear.

"The farm, on which he lived, and which he owned, was of sufficient extent and fertility to have supported a large family; but he had long imbibed the idea, that he should live to need and spend the whole.

"For more than twenty years he dwelt entirely alone in a hut, which scarcely any one would have deemed decent for a barn. He made his own garments, which were in a fashion peculiar to himself. He tilled his land, milked his cows, and made his butter and cheese; but subsisted principally on potatoes and milk. Owing, no doubt, to his simple and temperate mode of living, he exhibited, at the age of eighty-two, a face freer from wrinkles than is generally seen in those of fifty.

"He always spoke of the town, where he made his appearance once or twice a year, under the name of "the Bank"†.

"His mother lived to be more than an hundred years of age. When she was one hundred and two, some people visited her on a certain day, and

† The ancient name of Portsmouth was Strawberry-Bank.

Monday, October 10th, we left Portsmouth and rode to Newburyport to dinner, twenty-three miles; through Greenland, five and a half miles; Northampton, nine; Hampton, twelve; Hampton-Falls, fifteen; and Salisbury, nineteen.

Greenland has been already mentioned. I have only to add, that it appeared to my eye the most fertile and beautiful surface in this neighbourhood, and under the best cultivation. It was incorporated in 1713. It contained, in 1775, 759 inhabitants; in 1790, 634; in 1800, 548; and, in 1810, 592.

To what cause this decrease is owing I am unable to say.

Northampton, bordering on Greenland, offered nothing to the eye which merits observation; nor Hampton, nor Hampton-Falls. The people of these three townships live on a soil moderately good, and a surface moderately pleasant. Their houses and their appendages indicate that they are in com-

while they were with her, the bell was heard to toll for a funeral. The old lady burst out into tears, and said, 'When will the bell toll for me? It seems that the bell will never toll for me. I am afraid that I shall never die.'

"Mr. Lear, although repeatedly invited and urged to repair to some of the neighbours, to spend the winter where he might be comfortable, absolutely declined, alleging that he had every thing he wanted. He would not suffer any one to spend a night in his house, or to take care of him in his last illness. For several weeks before his death he was in a feeble state of health; but with those comfortable accommodations, which were abundantly in his power, he might have perhaps lived to the age of his mother.

"On Thursday night last week the cold was so extreme, that the mercury fell in Fahrenheit's thermometer to four degrees below 0. In the evening he was so well as to be laying out his business for the ensuing spring, but in the morning he was unable to rise. He had his senses, but soon expired. Almost any one else would, in similar circumstances, have been totally frozen long before morning. According to his usual custom, he was without a shirt to his back, but was clad in an old, tattered cloth garb; and his only covering for the night, besides, was a small ragged blanket, and his bed was a parcel of straw.

"He was of an inoffensive disposition towards his fellow creatures, but with the means in his hands he denied himself almost every comfort of life.

"The place of his abode has often been visited out of curiosity. The waters of Sagamore creek, irregular hills and vallies, a decent orchard, an interval for tillage, towering pines, and craggy rocks, appear in various directions from the ancient lowly cot which forms the hermitage, and exhibit a romantic scene."

fortable circumstances. In passing through them a traveller is forcibly struck with impressions of retirement and still life.

Northampton was taken from Hampton, and incorporated in 1742. It contained, in 1775, 652 inhabitants; in 1790, 657; in 1800, 653; and, in 1810, 651.

Hampton was incorporated in 1638; and, in 1775, contained 862 inhabitants; in 1790, 853; in 1800, 875; and, in 1810, 990.

Hampton-Falls was incorporated in 1712, and contained in 1775, 645 inhabitants; in 1790, 541; in 1800, 519; and, in 1810, 570.

These three townships are probably as populous as they will ever be, unless the ingenuity of the people should direct their industry in some new path, or the increase of Portsmouth should give it a new spring. I ought to add, that in 1791 a canal was cut from Hampton through the salt marshes on the coast, which opens a safe inland passage for boats into the Merrimac. The distance is about eight miles.

Salisbury is an ancient town, having been incorporated in the year 1640, and was formerly of such importance as to be honoured with several sessions of the legislature of Massachusetts'-Bay. It lies on the north side of the Merrimac, from its mouth inland seven miles. It is divided into two parishes. The principal settlement in it begins at Powaw river, which rises in Kingston, and joins the Merrimac between Amesbury and Salisbury. This settlement is a continued village, built chiefly on a single street along the northern bank of the Merrimac. Ship-building has long been an important employment to the inhabitants. This, together with the mechanical arts which it involves, and some commerce, gives Salisbury, when compared with the last-mentioned places, an appearance of life and activity. In the buildings there is nothing remarkable. The frigate Alliance was built here by a Mr. Hacket.

In the year 1790 Salisbury contained 267 dwelling-houses, and 1,780 inhabitants; in 1800, 298 dwelling-houses, and 1,855 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,913.

Between Salisbury and Newbury the Merrimac is crossed on Essex bridge, the lowermost of seven already erected on this river. It consists of two divisions, separated by an island

at a small distance from the southern shore. The division between the island and this shore consists principally of an arch, whose chord is one hundred and sixty feet, and whose vertex is forty feet above the high water mark. In appearance and construction it resembles Pascataqua bridge. The whole length of Essex bridge is one thousand and thirty feet, and its breadth thirty-four. I have already mentioned, that Mr. Timothy Palmer, of Newburyport, was the inventor of arched bridges in this country. As Mr. Palmer was educated to house-building only, and had never seen a structure of this nature, he certainly deserves not a little credit for the invention. I ought to have added, in my account of Pascataqua bridge, that a Mr. Gordon, a house-joiner from the interior of New-Hampshire, presented a model to the commissioners for building that bridge, which was almost entirely followed in the construction. The model was the result of his own ingenuity. The workmanship of Essex bridge is a handsome exhibition of neatness and strength.

At the south end of this bridge there is a convenient house of entertainment, frequently resorted to by parties of pleasure from the neighbourhood. For such a purpose no spot in this region could have been chosen with equal propriety. A grove of pines rises immediately behind it; and before it the river, the bridge, and the northern shore, together with several beautiful islands, render this little solitude charming.

Newbury is a large township, lying opposite to Salisbury and Amesbury, on the southern side of the Merrimac. It contains five parishes, in which are five congregations, and a society of Friends. It is all settled in plantations, formed, especially along the Merrimac, of excellent land, under good cultivation. The surface is generally pleasant, and remarkably so on the borders of the river from some of the eminences. Particularly from the seat of Moses Brown, Esq., formerly the property of the Hon. Tristram Dalton, there is a very commanding and attractive view of the surrounding country, the river, and the ocean.

The inhabitants of Newbury are almost universally farmers. In Byefield, one of the parishes, a woollen manufactory has been established. Its success time must determine. A little

commerce is carried on in this town, partly by the Merrimac and partly by Parker's river, a few miles farther south.

The number of inhabitants in Newbury, was in the year 1790 3,972; and, in 1800, 4,076. The number of dwelling-houses in the first of these years was, according to the census, 538, and of the families 723. In 1810 there were 5,176 inhabitants.

Newburyport is probably the smallest township in this state, including only six hundred and forty acres, or the contents of a square mile. It lies on the southern shore of the Merrimac. The town is built on a declivity of unrivalled beauty. The slope is easy and elegant; the soil rich; the streets, except one near the water, clean and sweet; and the verdure, wherever it is visible, exquisite. The streets are either parallel, or right-angled, to the river, the southern shore of which bends here towards the south-east. None of them are regularly formed. The first settlers, not expecting the future growth of the town, neglected the peculiar advantages of its situation. Instead of laying it out in squares, with wide, straight, and uniform streets, they made some of them wide, others narrow, few of them straight, some of them short, and no two, I believe, exactly parallel. Still there is so near an approximation to regularity, as to awaken in the mind of a traveller, with peculiar strength, a wish that the regularity had been perfect. For myself, I confess, I was not a little mortified to see so fair an opportunity of compassing this beauty on so exquisite a spot finally lost, either through inattention, or undue regard to some private interest. As it is, however, there are few towns of equal beauty in this country.

Newburyport extends a mile along the Merrimac, and is one-fourth of a mile in breadth. High-street, which lies in the rear, and almost on the summit of the acclivity, is remarkably handsome, and commands a noble prospect.

The public buildings are six churches, a court-house, a gaol, a bank, a town-house, and four public school-houses. Five of the churches are Presbyterian, two in the proper sense, and one Episcopal. One of the churches (that of the first congregation) was lately built at the expense of 17,000 dollars. The ground on which the former church, belonging to the same

congregation stood, was purchased for 8,000 dollars, and devoted for ever to the purpose of enlarging a small public square. From this fact may be estimated the value of property in this town, and the public spirit of its inhabitants.

The houses, taken collectively, make a better appearance than those of any other town in New-England. Many of them are particularly handsome. Their appendages also are unusually neat. Indeed, an air of wealth, taste, and elegance, is spread over this beautiful spot, with a cheerfulness and brilliancy to which I know no rival. I ought to have mentioned, that the grammar school is a neat, and the town-house an ordinary building.

A mall has been begun on High Street, but on so small a scale as ill to suit the purpose in view. A handsome lot has been purchased by Moses Brown, Esq. in front of one of the churches, for 13,000 dollars, and appropriated for ever, as an open square, to the use of the public; an act of liberality which needs no comment.

The commerce of Newburyport is considerable, as will appear from the following statement*:—

Years.	Duties.
1801 . . . . . Dollars,	264,144
1802	209,263
1803	203,775
1804	350,549
1805	421,799
1806	299,228
1807	320,764
1808	122,405
1809	75,147
1810	117,213

The wealth of this town is everywhere visible in the buildings and their appurtenances. Several of the inhabitants are possessed of large fortunes. You will remember, that two of the associate founders of the theological seminary at Andover, Moses Brown and William Bartlett, Esqrs., are citizens of Newburyport.

The manners of the inhabitants are, I think, unusually agree-

* Since the late war the commerce of Newburyport has declined.—*Pub.*

able. They are easy, unaffected, graceful, yet marked with simplicity, and on that account peculiarly pleasing. They are also distinguished for their hospitality; and in a public, liberal spirit are not exceeded.

Their morals and religion, there is reason to believe, are on a higher scale than those of most other towns in New-England of the same size. Upon the whole, few places probably in the world furnish more means of a delightful residence than Newburyport.

From the tower of the church, belonging to the fifth congregation, a noble prospect is presented to the spectator. On the west and south spreads an extensive champaign country, ornamented with good farmers' houses, orchards, and cultivated fields, and varied by a number of beautiful hills. Behind them rise remotely two mountains, finely connecting the landscape with the sky. On the north flows the Merrimac, visible about four miles; exhibiting two islands in its bosom, near the point where it first appears, and joining the ocean between two sand banks, on which are erected two moveable light-houses. On the north shore stand the towns of Salisbury and Amesbury. Behind this the country rises gradually, parted into a variety of eminences; one of them, which from its appropriation by the savages is called Powaw hill, particularly handsome. Over all these ascends, at the distance of twenty-five miles, the round summit of Agamenticus. North-eastward, the Isles of Shoals appear, at the distance of eight leagues, like a cloud in the horizon. Eastward, the ocean spreads illimitably. At a small distance from the shore, Plumb-Island, a wild and fantastical sand-beach, reaching quite to Ipswich, ten or twelve miles, is thrown up by the joint power of winds and waves into the thousand wanton figures of a snow-drift. In this direction the view is limited by the peninsula of Cape Ann, dimly stretching a great length into the sea. Immediately beneath is the town itself; which, with its churches and beautiful houses, its harbour and shipping, appears as the proper centre of this circle of scenery; and leaves on the mind a cheerfulness and brilliancy, strongly resembling that, which accompanies a delightful morning in May.

There are ten public schools supported in this town.

Mr. Jacob Perkins, one of the inhabitants, has invented a machine for cutting nails; which, it is said, will cut two hundred thousand in a day.

Several small houses are erected on Plumb-Island by the Marine and other societies, containing fuel, and other accommodations, for the immediate relief of ship-wrecked seamen.

Newburyport has usually been healthy; and if we except the influence of easterly winds, seems exposed to no peculiar cause of disease. This year, however (1796), it has been visited by the yellow fever, attended with uncommon malignity. Of fifty patients, thirty-nine had died before our arrival; and two or three more, as we were informed, died afterwards. The inhabitants, who had fled for safety into the interior, returned on the day of our arrival. Melancholy and mourning saddened the countenances of several families, whom we visited; and gloom was spread over the town, diminished however by the pleasure, which the inhabitants found in meeting again, and in the belief that the fever had finished its ravages.

Nothing, which hospitality or politeness could dictate, or refined intelligence express, was wanting to make our stay agreeable.

In 1790, Newburyport contained 616 dwelling houses, and 4,837 inhabitants; in 1800, it contained 806 dwelling houses, and 5,946 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 7,634.

Wednesday, October 12th, we rode to Beverly, twenty-two miles; through Newbury, four; Rowley, eight; Ipswich, twelve; Hamilton, sixteen; Wenham, eighteen. The road is tolerably good, and the surface, which consists chiefly of hills and vallies, not unpleasant. The road lies wholly along the coast.

Rowley is a farming township, on a moderately good soil, which appears to furnish a comfortable subsistence to its inhabitants. I saw nothing in it particularly deserving of attention. It contained, in 1790, 278 dwelling-houses, and 1,772 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,557. The remarkable decrease of people in this place I cannot explain. In 1810, it contained 1,682 inhabitants.

There are two Presbyterian and one Baptist congregations in Rowley.

Ipswich is an ancient town, incorporated in 1634, and settled the next in this county after Salem. Its Indian name was Agawam. The soil is good. The town is large; and the remaining part of the township, except an extensive salt-marsh, is occupied by farms. A small river runs through the centre of the town, which is said to have furnished, anciently, a pretty good harbour at its mouth. The commerce, carried on by means of the river, was probably this inducement, which led to the establishment of so considerable a settlement on this spot. It is now obstructed by shoals; and the inhabitants appear to be left without any sufficient means of prosperous living. The streets of Ipswich are altogether irregular, and the houses generally indifferent, and ill-repaired. There are a few exceptions.

The supreme court, and the courts of common pleas and sessions, are held in Ipswich once a year. The court-house is a decent building; standing on an irregular, rough, unsightly square.

On the opposite side of this square is built a house for a woollen manufactory. We visited it, and found a few persons employed in carding and spinning. From them we received such accounts of the past and present state of the business, as led us to form very faint hopes of its future success, and to pity the undertaker, whose enterprise and public spirit we thought merited a better reward. While population is so thin, and labour so high, as in this country, there is reason to fear, that extensive manufactories will rarely be profitable. British cloths, of a better quality and appearance, will, probably, for some time be afforded on lower terms than ours, and of course will be purchased. Family manufactures, of this nature, may undoubtedly be pursued with success to a considerable extent; because here the labour will be only superadded to the other family business, and employed only to fill up seasons of leisure. Important advantages, also, may be derived from the several kinds of machinery by which labour is abridged.

Persons who have attentively observed the prosperity,

which commerce has given to this country, are, perhaps, too prone to think unfavourably concerning manufactures. On the other hand, there is a class of men, and that not a small one, who regard them with an enthusiasm not very unlike a mania. Wisdom, probably lies somewhere between these extremes. I shall resume this subject hereafter.

Silk and thread lace have been manufactured in Ipswich by women and children with better success. In the year 1790, 41,979 yards of these articles were sold in the neighbouring commercial towns; and the quantity is said to be increasing.

Ipswich river is crossed by a stone bridge, built upon two arches, under the direction of Judge Choate, a respectable inhabitant of this town. It is a strong, decent structure, secured at the sides by walls, also of stone. I know of no other bridge built in the same manner in New-England.

The Rev. John Norton, celebrated in his time, both in Europe and America, as an able divine, an eloquent preacher, a profound and elegant classical scholar, and a man of the most exemplary piety, was the first minister of Ipswich. His successor was the Rev. William Hubbard; the worthy and respectable author of a narrative of the Indian wars, and an unpublished History of New-England.

Ipswich is divided into four parishes; and contains four congregations. In 1790, the number of inhabitants in this town, including Hamilton, was 4,562, living in 601 dwelling-houses; in 1800, the number in both these towns was 4,054; and, in 1810, 4,349.

Of the 4,054 inhabitants, which these townships contained in 1800, 3,305 were in Ipswich, and 749 in Hamilton; and of the 4,349, which they contained in 1810, 3,569 were in Ipswich, and 780 in Hamilton.

From this statement it will be seen, that the original township of Ipswich has lost, in ten years, 508 persons out of its population. In 1790, the houses in Ipswich contained upon an average seven and a half persons each. The loss of population in these two townships would, therefore, according to this estimate, be a number, sufficient to occupy 67 houses; a decline, exceeding any thing, which I have observed elsewhere.

Hamilton and Wenham are merely collections of farms. The land is generally good, and the inhabitants are apparently in easy circumstances. Wenham contained, in 1790, 74 dwelling-houses, and 502 inhabitants; in 1800, 67 dwelling-houses, and 476 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 554 inhabitants. Wenham was incorporated in 1643.

From Wenham to Beverly the road is pleasant; especially the last part of it, which, at the foot of a hill on the east, runs along the margin of a small, beautiful lake on the west.

Beverly lies on the north side of Bass river, and was for forty years a parish of Salem. It was incorporated in 1668. The surface is pleasant, and the soil fertile. The meadows, particularly, are luxuriant. The township is divided into two parishes, the western containing one congregation, the eastern three, two Presbyterian and a Baptist.

The town of Beverly is decently built, and contains several handsome houses. In 1796, the first church was cut through the centre, and the end opposite to the tower moved twenty feet. The intermediate space was then so accurately filled up as to leave the eye without a suspicion that it had ever been separated. The sale of the new pews produced two thousand dollars more than the expense incurred. The inhabitants of this town are principally employed in commerce, fishing, and mechanical business. Their commerce is considerable. Their fishing is extensive, and has generally been successful. From these sources, united with their mechanical and agricultural business, the inhabitants have derived a good degree of prosperity, and several of them wealth. Whether on the land or on the sea, they have ever been distinguished for good-order, industry, sober manners, and sound morals. Their fishermen are, of course, men of a fair character; for no others can find employment in that business.

Learning has, however, been an object of no great attention or encouragement in Beverly, although several very intelligent people are numbered among its inhabitants. The two last ministers, Dr. Willard and Dr. M'Kean, were elected to the presidency of Harvard and Bowdoin colleges, and were both men of great respectability and worth.

The first congregation is the largest in the state, and probably in the Union.

In 1790, Beverly contained 422 dwelling houses, and 3,290 inhabitants; in 1800, 460 dwelling houses, and 3,881 inhabitants. Of these, 3,200 belonged to this congregation. No other congregation in the state pays so large a public tax. Beverly contained, in 1810, 4,608 inhabitants.

Having passed our time here as pleasantly as we could wish, we proceeded to Salem on Thursday, October 13th; two miles.

Salem is the oldest town in Massachusetts, except Plymouth, and the largest except Boston. It is built on a handsome peninsula, of a level and very neat surface, between Bass and South rivers.

Bass river, the mouth of which forms the harbour of Beverly, is a mere mill-stream until it becomes an arm of the ocean. It is crossed, immediately below Beverly, by a horizontal bridge, one thousand five hundred feet in length, and thirty-two in breadth, erected on ninety-eight wooden piers, upon the same plan with that of Charlestown. Yet, although of the same dimensions, and not inferior in strength or beauty, it is said to have cost but one third of the sum. There is a draw in this bridge, which is thought to be better contrived than most others. The river immediately below, is eighteen feet deep at low water; and a little farther down is of a sufficient depth for a seventy-four gun ship.

South river, exclusively of the water it receives from the ocean, is a mere brook.

Salem is a mile and one fourth in length, and at its greatest breadth half a mile. It is said to cover about three hundred acres, contains fifty-six streets, and is divided into four wards. Essex or Main Street, on which stand two of the churches and a great number of the principal houses, is the only one which extends through the whole length of the town, and is wide and handsome. Federal Street, which runs parallel with it, is however straighter and handsomer. Few of the others are disagreeably narrow. Only three or four of them are paved.

The public buildings in Salem are seven churches, six of them Presbyterian and one Episcopal, a Friends' meeting-house, a court house, a gaol, an alms-house, a market-house, school houses, a hospital for the inoculation of the small-pox,

and a health house, or lazaretto. The court house and market are good buildings. The latter is of two stories, the uppermost of which is occupied as an assembly-room. The other, though furnished with all the proper appurtenances, has hitherto not answered the purpose for which it was built. The market people, habituated to the practice of carrying their commodities from house to house, have here, as in other parts of New-England, strenuously resisted all attempts to confine their business to a single spot. Discouraged by their ill success, the proprietors have converted the lower story into shops. The gaol is of wood, of three stories, and remarkable only for containing within its walls a house of correction. The dwelling houses are generally decent, in many instances above this character, and in a few handsome.

Salem is a commercial town in the absolute sense, and contains its proportional share of mechanics and manufacturers. Of the five thousand acres, included within its limits, three hundred are covered by the houses and their appurtenances. The remainder is partly common-land, and partly distributed into farms. A considerable tract appears to be too cold and sterile ever to admit of profitable cultivation. As a commercial town, Salem ranks next to Charleston (South Carolina), being the sixth in the United States. It is also the sixth in population. In wealth, proportioned to the number of its inhabitants, it is the first. The commerce of this town coastwise, with the West Indies, with Europe, with Africa, with India, and with China, is carried on with an industry, enterprise, and skill, highly honourable to the inhabitants; and has been attended with unrivalled success.

The harbour, however, in which all this business is transacted, is ill fitted for commercial enterprise. All vessels, drawing more than twelve feet of water, must be unladen at a distance from the town by lighters; and the wharfs at low water are left dry. Nor are the encouragements on the land side much greater. The produce of almost all the interior is engrossed by Boston. The inland trade, therefore, is of little consequence.

But the spirit of the inhabitants has surmounted these obstacles. Indeed, obstacles, which do not overcome, only rouse the energy of the human mind. The Dutch grew in-

dessantly in wealth and power, while they were contending against the Spanish monarchy, their own poverty, an unproductive soil, an unkindly climate, and a shore forbidding access to navigation. The Swiss became great and happy on the iron sides of hills, and at the foot of eternal snows. The Grecians overcame the world by arts and arms, in a country, which, independently of its local situation, would hardly be thought worth the expense of colonizing.

In their industry, economy, sobriety, and perseverance, the inhabitants of Salem have found a remedy for all the evils of their local situation; and, in spite of them all, have arrived at a state of prosperity unequalled by any other town in the American Union. Happily for the inhabitants, these characteristics seem to remain (most heartily do I wish they may long remain) in their full force.

A specimen of this character, particularly of that apprehensiveness of danger to which the persons, possessing it, will always be awake, was not long since exhibited by the proprietors of the new market. The manager of the theatre in Boston applied to these gentlemen for leave to occupy the upper story of this building as a theatre. After consulting each other on the proposal, they informed him, that they would sooner set it on fire. Another specimen of the same nature is found in the fact, that there is not (in 1796) a single four-wheeled pleasure carriage in this town.

In a republic, where no chasms are formed by distinctions of rank between the classes of citizens, the propensity to follow expensiveness of living is much more powerful, and much more to be dreaded, than in countries where such distributions exist.

The inhabitants of Salem are extensively employed in fishing.

The sober, industrious habits of this town are everywhere visible to the eye of a traveller. Every man whom he meets or passes, appears like a man of business, and seems to be pursuing his own concerns with contrivance and energy.

Their industry and simplicity have exposed the inhabitants to the censure of their gayer and more splendid neighbours. They have been pronounced avaricious and inhospitable.

have good reason to believe the charge groundless. On those occasions, which have called for private liberality or public spirit, the people of Salem have been honourably distinguished. *We* certainly found them as hospitable as we could wish; and received from them every testimony of politeness, which could make the residence of a stranger agreeable to himself.

Perhaps it ought to be remarked universally, that men of business are naturally thought to be less hospitable than men of leisure. If a man of business renders to his guest that attention which a stranger usually wishes, his customers may be disobliged, his people may wait for directions, his patient may be neglected, or his client may be offended. To the man of leisure, the arrival of an agreeable stranger is often a material gratification. It varies the too regular and easy flow of his life; rouses him, perhaps, from languor, or melancholy, to energy and action; and, by quickening the current of his emotions, makes him pleased, not only with his guest, but with himself. The information which he receives from his guest, the little excursions which he makes in his company, the knowledge which he communicates concerning the interesting objects around him, the sprightly intercourse of the friends to whom he introduces him, and the renovated activity which these delightful causes produce, all constitute a kind of intellectual feast, doubly endeared to him, as being at once both necessary and honourable. In the mean time, his business is not disturbed, nor his property injured. No dependants are left unemployed; and no ship is prevented from being ready to sail with the first favourable wind.

I have known several persons, busily engaged in the active concerns of life, who were frequently censured for parsimony. Yet to these very persons the friend and the stranger, the poor and the public, were more indebted, than probably to all their censurers united.

From the first settlement of this town, a number of its citizens have been conspicuous for their talents and learning, and some of them have been distinguished by their agency in the public affairs of this country. The Rev. Dr. Prince, minister in the first congregation, has invented and made an air-pump,

pronounced, by the late George Adams, of Bristol, in England, the best instrument of the kind hitherto known, and as perfect as can be reasonably expected. The authors of the British Encyclopedia have preferred that of Cuthbertson, I think erroneously. The reasons, alleged for this preference, are plainly mistaken, particularly that there is a greater quantity of duct-work in the air-pump of Prince than in that of Cuthbertson. The writer of the article, in which this subject is examined, must, I think, have never seen an air-pump made after Prince's model, nor a fair draught and description of it, otherwise he must have discerned, that the fact directly contradicted his assertion.

The morals of this town are, probably, not less respectable than those of any other, of equal population, wealth, and commerce.

Salem was settled, in 1626, by Roger Conant and his companions. In 1628, John Endicot, Esq., afterwards governor of Massachusetts'-Bay, arrived from England with a number of planters, who stationed themselves on this spot. In 1629, Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, with about two hundred planters, arrived on the 29th of June, and were elected ministers of the congregation on the 20th of July following. Mr. Higginson died in 1630, and Mr. Skelton in 1634. Hugh Peters, who came to New-England in 1635, became minister of Salem in 1636. This singular man originated many improvements in the affairs of his parishioners. Possessing a mind unusually active and enterprising, he roused the planters to new courses of useful industry, and encouraged them by his own successful example. The spirit, which he excited, has continued with unabated vigour to the present time; and during the one hundred and sixty years which have intervened, the sun has nowhere seen a more active and industrious people than the inhabitants of Salem.

In the year 1790, Salem contained 928 dwelling houses, and 7,921 inhabitants; in 1800, 9,457 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 12,613.

The amount of the commerce of Salem, including that of Beverly, may in some measure be estimated from the following abstract of the duties on imports:—

Years.		Duties.
1801	Dollars,	679,516
1802		500,017
1803		648,214
1804		838,273
1805		1,008,305
1806		987,678
1807		1,074,750
1808		442,733
1809		531,640
1810		615,803

Salem formerly included Wenham, Beverly, Marblehead, and Danvers. The last of these towns was anciently called Salem village. It was incorporated in 1757, and is now considerable for its wealth and number of inhabitants. The principal street extends a mile and a half, or two miles, on the great road leading to Boston. On this street the houses are numerous, compactly built, and well appearing. The inhabitants evidently possess the same industrious, thriving character, so remarkable in their neighbours, and exhibit indubitable proofs of general prosperity.

The soil of Danvers on this road is indifferent, but the rest of the township is materially better. In the state of the town the enemies of commerce may see a strong argument against the soundness of their opinions. Here a numerous body of inhabitants enjoy all the comforts of life, on a spot where not a fifth part of them could be sustained by agriculture. The commerce of Salem has here raised up an industry, and furnished a market for its products, which, together, have diffused convenience and plenty through all their habitations. Without commerce Danvers would have been a mere hamlet, or a collection of meagre farms and scattered cottages. Now it is a populous and flourishing town. The people are almost wholly employed in mechanical and manufacturing business. A few vessels are built within its limits, at the head of Beverly, or Bass river, and a little commerce is carried on by means of this channel.

It would be thought unpardonable in a traveller, when giving an account of Danvers, if he should pass, without no-

tice, the convulsion produced here in 1692 by the supposed prevalence of witchcraft.

From the year 1645, when the first suspicion of witchcraft in New-England began at Springfield, several persons were accused of this crime. Of those who were accused, four (to wit, one at Charlestown, one at Dorchester, one at Cambridge, and one at Boston) were executed. For almost thirty years afterwards, this subject seems to have slept in tolerable quiet. But in the year 1687 or 1688, four of the children of John Goodwin, a respectable inhabitant of Boston, united in accusing a poor Irish woman of bewitching them. The accusation was unhappily regarded with an attention which it very ill deserved. Not only did the citizens in the neighbourhood treat the subject as a thing of consequence, but a number of the clergy held a day of fasting and prayer on the occasion at the house of Mr. Goodwin. This unhappy measure gave the affair a solemn aspect at once. The poor woman, who seems to have have been stupified with terror, or bewildered by distraction, was apprehended. An inquest of physicians pronounced her to be of sound mind. In consequence of this decision, she was tried and executed. An account of the whole transaction was published; and so generally were the wise and good, as well as the weak and wicked of this century convinced of the reality of witchcraft, that we find not only Mr. Baxter writing a preface to the account, and declaring him, who would not believe it, to be an obdurate Sadducee, but Glanville publishing stories of witches, Sir Matthew Hale trying them in the court of king's bench, several eminent lawyers laying down rules for convicting them, and several grave clergymen, such as Perkins and Bernard, undertaking to prove the existence, and defining the characteristics, evidences, and boundaries of witchcraft. With all these preparatives, it cannot be surprising, that, at a time when the reality of witchcraft had never been questioned, and in a country where it scarcely ever had been doubted, the case of these children should make a deep impression. The same general conviction prevailed everywhere. Everywhere persons suspected of being witches and wizards, were tried, condemned, and executed by the authority of the first tribunals in Europe, as well as by inferior judicatories. In England, more persons

were executed in a single county than in all the colonies of New-England, from the arrival of the Plymouth settlers to the present time.

The truth, as every intelligent and candid man will acknowledge, is, the existence of witchcraft had never been taken up by the human mind as a subject of investigation. This capital point had been uniformly omitted; and every inquirer, instead of examining whether there was any such thing as witchcraft, directed all his efforts to determine what were its causes, characteristics, proofs, limits, and effects. Where such was the nature of discussions, formed by statesmen, judges, lawyers, and divines, the only proper question concerning this subject must, it is obvious, be naturally and universally forgotten.

Near the close of February, 1692, two girls, about eleven years of age (a daughter and a niece of Mr. Paris, minister of Danvers, then Salem village), and two other girls in the neighbourhood, began, as the children of Mr. Goodwin had done before, to act in a peculiar and unaccountable manner; creeping, for example, into holes and under chairs, using many unnatural gestures, and uttering many ridiculous observations; equally destitute of sense and sobriety. This behaviour excited the attention of the neighbourhood. Several physicians were consulted; all of whom, except one, declared themselves unable to assign a cause for these singular affections of the children. This man, more ignorant or more superstitious than his companions, confessed his suspicion, that the children were bewitched. The declaration appears to have been decisive. The connections of the children immediately applied themselves to fasting and prayer, and summoned their friends to unite in their devotions. On the 11th of the following March, Mr. Paris invited several of the neighbouring ministers to unite with him in prayer at his own house. It was observed, that during the religious exercises the children were generally decent and still, and that after the service was ended they renewed their former inexplicable conduct.

A few days before this, an Indian man and woman, servants in the house of Mr. Paris, formed a kind of magical cake, which, like the *mola* among the Romans, was esteemed sacred in Mexico, the native country of the woman, and was

supposed by these ignorant creatures to possess an efficacy sufficient to detect the authors of the witchcraft. This cake was given to the house-dog, as having the common canine prerogative of corresponding with the invisible world. Soon after the spell was finished, the children, acquainted probably with its drift, and therefore naturally considering this as the proper time to make disclosures, began to point out the authors of their misfortunes. The first person accused was the Indian woman herself, who was accordingly committed to prison, and, after lying there some time, escaped without any farther punishment, except being sold to defray the expense of her prosecution.

Two other women, of the names of Good and Osborn, one long sunk in melancholy, the other bedrid, were next accused by the children, and after being examined were also committed to prison. Within five weeks a Mrs. Corey, and a Mrs. Nurse, women of unblemished character, and professors of religion, were added to the number of the accused. Before the examination of Mrs. Corey, Mr. Noyes, minister of Salem, highly esteemed for his learning, piety, and benevolence, made a prayer. She was then vehemently accused by Mrs. Putnam, the mother of one of them, and by several other persons, who now declared themselves bewitched, of beating, pinching, strangling, and in various other ways afflicting them.

Mrs. Putnam, particularly, complained of excruciating distress, and with loud, piercing shrieks, excited in the numerous spectators emotions of astonishment, pity, and indignation, bordering upon frenzy. Mrs. Corey was, of course, pronounced guilty, and imprisoned.

The examination of Mrs. Nurse was introduced by a prayer from Mr. Hale of Beverly. The accusation, the accusers, the proof, and the consequences were the same.

Soon after her commitment, a child of Sarah Good, the melancholy woman mentioned above, a child between four and five years old, was accused by the same women of bewitching them, and accordingly was imprisoned.

In the mean time fasts were multiplied. Several public ones were kept by the inhabitants of the village; and, finally, a general fast was holden throughout the colony. By these

successive solemnities, the subject acquired a consideration literally sacred; and alarmed and engrossed the minds of the whole community. Magistrates and clergymen gave to it the weight of their belief and their reputation, led their fellow-citizens into a labyrinth of error and iniquity, and stained the character of their country in the eye of all succeeding generations. Had Mr. Paris, instead of listening to the complaints of the children in his family, and holding days of fasting and prayer on so preposterous an occasion, corrected them severely; had the physician, mentioned above, instead of pronouncing them bewitched, administered to them a strong dose of ipecacuanha; had the magistrates, who received the accusations, and examined the accused, dismissed both and punished the accusers to prison; or, finally, had the judges of the superior court directed the first indictment to be quashed, and sent the prisoners home; the evil, in either of these stages, might undoubtedly have been stopped. But, unhappily, all these were efforts of reason, which lay beyond the spirit of the times.

That Mr. Paris, Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Hale, believed the existence of the witchcraft in Salem village, cannot be questioned. That they seem to have been men of a fair religious character must be acknowledged. But it must also be acknowledged, that both they and Messieurs Hawthorne and Corwin, the magistrates principally concerned, men of good character likewise, were, in the present case, rash and inexcusable.

They were not merely deceived; but they deceived themselves and infatuated others. They were not merely zealous but unjust. They received, from persons unknown in judicial proceedings as witnesses, evidence equally contradictory to law, to common sense, and to the Scriptures. Spectral evidence, as it was termed; that is, evidence founded on apparitions, and other supernatural appearances, professed to be seen by the accusers, was the only basis of a train of capital convictions. Children, incapable of understanding the things about which they gave testimony, were yet, at times, the only witnesses; and, what was still worse, the very things which they testified, were put into their minds and mouths by the examiners, in the questions which they asked. In one case

a man, named Samuel Wardwell, was tried, condemned, and executed, on the testimony of his wife and daughter, who appear to have accused him merely for the sake of saving themselves.

Soon after the above-mentioned examinations, the number of accusers, and by necessary consequence of the accused also, multiplied to a most alarming degree. To recite the story, would be useless as well as painful. In substance it would be little else than what has been already said. All those who were executed denied the charge, and finally declared their innocence; although several of them in the moment of terror had made partial confessions of their guilt. A considerable number for the same purpose acknowledged themselves guilty, and thus escaped death. To such a degree did the frenzy prevail, that, in the January following, the grand jury indicted almost fifty persons for witchcraft.

Nor was the evil confined to this neighbourhood. It soon spread into various parts of Essex, Middlesex, and Suffolk. Persons at Andover, Ipswich, Gloucester, Boston, and several other places, were accused by their neighbours and others. For some time the victims were selected only from the lower classes. It was not long, however, before the spirit of accusation began to lay hold on persons of more consequence. On the 5th of August, 1692, Mr. George Burroughs, who had formerly preached in Salem village, and afterwards at Wells, in the province of Maine, was brought to trial for bewitching Mary Walcott, an inhabitant of the village, and was condemned. Mr. English, a respectable merchant in Salem, and his wife; Messrs. Dudley and John Bradstreet, sons of the late Governor Bradstreet; the wife of Mr. Hale; the lady of Sir William Phipps; and the secretary of Connecticut; were all among the accused. Mr. English and his wife fled to New-York. Mr. Dudley Bradstreet had already committed between thirty and forty persons for this supposed crime; but, being weary and discouraged, declined any farther interference in the business. Upon this, he was charged with having killed nine persons by witchcraft; and was obliged to flee to the district of Maine. His brother John, being accused of having bewitched a dog and riding upon his back, fled into New-

Hampshire. At Andover, a dog was accused of bewitching several human beings, and put to death.

The evil now became too great to be borne. A man, named Giles Corey, had been pressed to death for refusing to plead; and nineteen persons had been executed. More than one third of these were members of the Christian church; and more than one half had borne an unblemished character. One hundred and fifty were in prison; two hundred others were accused. Suspense and terror spread through the colony. Neither age nor sex, neither ignorance nor innocence, neither learning nor piety, neither reputation nor office, furnished the least security. Multitudes appear to have accused others, merely to save themselves. Among the accused, not a small number confessed themselves guilty for the same reason; for, by a strange inversion of judicial process, those, who confessed the crime, escaped; while those, who protested their innocence, died without proof, and without mercy.

While the mischief was thus rolling up to a mountainous size, the principal persons in the colony began seriously to ask themselves where it would end. A conviction began to spread, that the proceedings were rash and indefensible. Mr. Hale probably changed his opinion, because his wife was accused. The same consideration undoubtedly influenced Sir William Phipps. A respectable man in Boston, having been accused by some persons at Andover, arrested his accusers for defamation; and laid his damages at a thousand pounds. In consequence of this spirited conduct, the frenzy in that town disappeared. In other places, the distresses, the fair character, and the apparent innocence of many of the sufferers, wrought silently, but powerfully, on the people at large. At the last special court of oyer and terminer, holden on this subject, of fifty, who were brought to trial, all were acquitted, except three; and these were reprieved by the governor. These events were followed by a general release of those who had been imprisoned. Thus the cloud, which had so long hung over the colony, slowly and sullenly retired; and, like the darkness of Egypt, was, to the great joy of the distressed inhabitants, succeeded by serenity and sunshine.

At this period, and for some time after, attempts were

made in various places to revive these prosecutions; but they failed of success. It has been said, that an inhabitant of Northampton accused one of his neighbours of bewitching him to the Honourable Mr. Partridge, a very respectable magistrate in Hatfield. This gentleman, understanding perfectly the nature of the accusation, and foreseeing the mischiefs, which would spring from any serious attention to it, told the accuser, that, as it was not in his power to try the cause immediately, he would hold a court at Northampton, for that purpose, on a specified day of the succeeding week; but that he would now finish a part of the business. It was a rule of law, he said, that the informant should, in various cases, receive half of what was adjudged. A person, convicted of witchcraft, was by law punished with twenty stripes. He should, therefore, order ten of these to the accuser. They were accordingly inflicted on the spot. At the appointed time, the court was opened at Northampton; but no accuser appeared. This, confessedly illegal, but exemplarily wise and just administration, smothered the evil here in its birth. Had measures equally wise been adopted throughout the colony, the story of New-England witchcraft would never have been told. From this period the belief of witchcraft seems gradually, and almost entirely, to have vanished from New-England. There is, perhaps, no country in the world, whose inhabitants more generally treat the whole train of invisible beings, which people the regions of superstition and credulity, with less respect, or who distinguish religion from its counterfeits with more universality or correctness.

In the year 1790, Danvers contained 372 dwelling-houses, and 2,425 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,643 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 3,127.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XLII.

Marblehead. Lynn. County of Essex. Malden. Dr. Thatcher. Charlestown.

DEAR SIR;

ON Friday, October 14th, at eleven o'clock, we set out for Charlestown, through Marblehead, four miles; Lynn, eleven; to Charlestown, eighteen. By a turnpike road, since made, the distance is thirteen miles. The road, which we travelled, was tolerably good.

Marblehead, through which we passed merely for the sake of seeing it, is, like Salem, built on a peninsula; but more rough, rocky, and unpleasant, than any which I have seen. The rocks are often very large; and so thickly lodged on the surface, that there seems to be hardly earth enough for the houses to stand on. On such ground regularity cannot be expected. The streets, or rather roads, wind where the rocks permit; and the houses are built where the inhabitants can find room. The great body of the houses, belonging, as we concluded, to the fishermen, are ordinary and decayed. A few, the property, as we supposed, of their employers, are valuable buildings. The inhabitants, it will be remembered, suffered very severely during the revolutionary war. The town made a better appearance to my eye in 1774 than in 1796.

Fishing is almost exclusively the business of Marblehead. The fishermen are less industrious, economical, and moral, unless I am misinformed, than their neighbours in Salem and Beverly. In the summer, they labour hard in a very toilsome occupation; and frolic away the remembrance of their hardships during the winter. It is asserted, that considerable numbers of them become, of necessity, indebted, in the spring, to a credit on the voyage of the succeeding summer, for the

support of their families, while they are absent. The fishermen of Beverly and Salem are generally in comfortable, thriving circumstances.

It is proverbially said by the people of this neighbourhood, that Marblehead abounds in children. We had often heard this declaration; yet were astonished, while passing through this town, to see the multitudes, which everywhere presented themselves. Few of those, whom we saw, were more than twelve years of age. Several times we stopped our carriage, to observe and count them. At one door we numbered eleven, differing very little in their stature; and at every door found a new flock.

The harbour of this town extends, on the south side of the peninsula, a mile and a half in length, and half a mile in breadth. Seaward, it is defended by a wall; which, within a few years has become so much impaired as to be in danger of giving way; an event by which the town must have been injured, and might perhaps have been ruined. The legislature granted a lottery to the inhabitants, for the purpose of relieving them from this danger; and the wall, as I understand, has been repaired.

Marblehead includes four congregations; two Presbyterian, one Episcopal, and one Methodist. In 1790, Marblehead contained 618 dwelling houses, and 5,661 inhabitants; in 1800, 5,211 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 5,900.

The commerce of Marblehead may be conjectured from the following abstract of duties:—

Years.	Duties.
1801	Dollars, 22,300
1802	62,426
1803	63,766
1804	94,505
1805	90,544
1806	108,659
1807	159,868
1808	330,541
1809	340,782
1810	620,194

Between Marblehead and Lynn the country exhibited nothing remarkable, except a range of rocky hills, begin-

ning at Salem, and extending uninterruptedly to Medford. The rocks, which are of grey granite, are, to a great extent naked and forbidding. From what I have observed in different places, a similar barrier extends along the coast through a great part of the distance to New-Haven.

Lynn is a pretty town, situated about nine miles from Boston, at the head of a bay. That part of it, which borders upon this piece of water, is a beautiful slope, limited on three sides almost entirely by the hills, and open on the fourth to the ocean. The smooth surface and elegant declension of this ground, its cheerful meadows and neat habitations, form a very pleasant contrast to the rougher scenery of the neighbourhood.

In another view, this town became still more interesting. The houses, with scarcely an exception, appear to be the abodes of industry, competence, and thrift. Few of them were large, or expensive; but almost all were tidy, and well repaired. At the sight of them a traveller could scarcely avoid concluding, that a peaceful and comfortable fire-side must be found within the walls. By the side of almost every house stood a small, neat shoemaker's shop. These boxes originate the prosperity of Lynn; and usually contain two hundred master-workmen, and six hundred apprentices, employed continually in manufacturing women's shoes. The number, annually made, is calculated at three hundred thousand pair; and has amounted to four hundred thousand. These are sold in the neighbouring commercial towns, particularly in Boston; and probably yield to the inhabitants from 200 to 250,000 dollars a year. Few towns, through which we passed, left more pleasing impressions on our minds than Lynn.

A beach, extending a mile from the shore, called Lynn beach, connects Nahant point, the northern extreme of the harbour of Boston, with the main. This beach is a favourite resort for parties of pleasure from the surrounding country. It has, also, been employed as a race ground; and is one of the only two spots, which, so far as my knowledge extends, is used for this purpose in the state of Massachusetts.

Lynn includes two Presbyterian congregations, a society of Friends, and another of Methodists. It was incorporated

in 1637; and, in 1790, contained 300 houses, and 2,291 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,837 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 4,087.

As Lynn is the last town in the county of Essex, lying on our road, it will not be improper here, to make some general observations concerning this county.

The county of Essex is the north-eastern corner of Massachusetts Proper; and is not far from forty miles long and twenty-five broad. Its form its triangular: Salisbury being the north-eastern, Methuen the north-western, and Lynn the southern, angles. On the eastern side it is washed by the ocean. On the western, it is bounded by the county of Middlesex; and on the northern, by the counties of Rockingham and Hillsborough in New-Hampshire. Essex may all be considered as an ancient settlement, and no county in Massachusetts, except Suffolk, which is composed almost wholly of Boston, is equally populous. In 1790, it contained 7,644 dwelling-houses, 10,883 families, and 57,913 inhabitants. There are about four hundred and fifty-three square miles in this county. In 1800, it contained 61,196 inhabitants; about 135 to a square mile. The names of the several towns in this county, arranged according to their population, are the following:—

Salem	9,457
Newburyport	5,946
Gloucester	5,313
Marblehead	5,211
Newbury	4,076
Beverly	3,881
Ipswich	3,305
Lynn	2,837
Haverhill	2,730
Danvers	2,643
Salisbury	1,855
Amesbury	1,757
Rowley	1,557
Bradford	1,420
Methuen	1,253
Manchester	1,082
Boxford	852
Topsfield	789

Hamilton	749
Middleton	598
Wenham	476
Lynnfield	468

In 1810, the whole number of inhabitants in this county was 71,888*.

Salem, Newburyport, Gloucester, Marblehead, Beverly, Haverhill, and Manchester are commercial and fishing towns; and contained, together, in 1800, 33,620 inhabitants. To these may be added from Ipswich, Amesbury, Salisbury, Bradford, &c., enough to make the number 40,000; a greater number than are employed in this business in any county of the United States; if we except the cities of Philadelphia and New-York. The commerce of this county is very great; and the fish caught, and exported by its inhabitants, are more, it is believed, than one-half of all, which are exported from the Union. Its wealth is proportionally great. Of every thousand pounds, raised by a state tax, this county pays £193 13*s.* 7*d*; almost a fifth part of the whole; and this proportion probably falls short of its wealth, compared with that of every other county, except Suffolk. The surface of this county is generally pleasant; the soil in most places pretty good; and the agriculture creditable to the inhabitants. The farmers are, accordingly, in good thrift. No county in the United States is believed to be more friendly to literature; and perhaps none is more distinguished for its morals.

Essex was made a county when the colony of Massachusetts-Bay was first divided.

From Lynn to Malden the road is good. The soil throughout most of this tract is indifferent. Nor does the country exhibit any thing particularly inviting.

Malden is a collection of scattered plantations. The inhabitants are generally farmers, seated on a good soil, and in easy circumstances.

I have often observed, that in particular tracts of country there is a remarkable resemblance between the several mountains, hills, vallies, plains, points, rocks, islands, lakes, rivers, and even harbours. In a given tract, for example, the sum-

* One hundred and fifty-eight to a square mile. In 1820, the number of inhabitants in Essex county was 74,655.—*Pub.*

mits of the mountains will be generally arched; in another obtuse-angled; in another nearly acute. In some places, the hills are generally rough, pointed, and ragged; in others, smoother, but bleak and dreary; in others, varied indeed, but without any of those lines, which constitute beauty of figure; and in others still, fashioned, in every limitation of the surface, with an exact adherence to these lines. The hills in Malden, Charlestown, and the neighbourhood, are of a piece; and are beautiful slopes, united with an elegant bend at the summit. Of a similar appearance generally are the swells on Rhode-Island, Canonicut, and the neighbouring shore of S. Kingston. Such also are those in Pomfret, and in Stratford, commencing with what is called the Great-hill. And such, remarkably, are those of Fairfield, and Greens-farms near the shore. In other places hills rise and vallies sink, in a long succession, without any peculiar traces of beauty or elegance. What is true of hills is equally true of other divisions of the surface. Even intervals, the most beautiful of them all, are, at times, destitute of every allurement to the eye.

The hills in Malden and its neighbourhood exhibit one common character of ease and elegance. Every bend, every prominence, every scoop, resembles the sweeping, graceful flourishes of a finished penman; while the same things, in many other places, are very similar to the angular marks of a novice.

From Malden to Charlestown, distance two and a half miles, the road passes over Mystic river on Malden bridge. This structure was erected in the summer of 1787; and is two thousand four hundred and twenty feet in length and thirty-two in breadth. Through a draw in this bridge, small vessels pass to Medford, three miles above, at the head of the navigation. Mystic river unites with Charles river, a mile below the bridge.

In the year 1790, Malden contained 1,033 inhabitants; in 1800, 135 dwelling-houses, and 1,059 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,384.

In this town the late Dr. Thatcher was settled in the ministry at the age of eighteen years and six months. I remember no other instance, in which ordination has been conferred at so early a period of life. Dr. Thatcher was possessed of varied

and distinguished excellence. But it would seem, that he must have been endowed with a prudence altogether singular, or his congregation fraught with an unusual spirit of regularity and harmony, to enable him to manage their ecclesiastical affairs with success. From the high respect, which attended him through life, he must certainly have been a very successful labourer in this difficult employment, even at that early age.

From Malden he was removed to Brattle Street church, in Boston, in 1785. Here he continued until the year 1802, when he took a voyage for his health to Savannah in Georgia, where he died, December 16th, in the 51st year of his age. Dr. Thatcher was a favourite preacher, and a very amiable and respectable man.

Charlestown, where we arrived in the evening, was called by the natives Mishawum, and is a township, naturally divided into two parts: a peninsula, lying between Charles and Mystic rivers; and a tract of the main land, extending along Charles river to Cambridge, and along Mystic river to Medford. The town is built on the southern and western sides of the peninsula. The streets are formed without the least regard to regularity. The middle of this peninsula is a hill, extending almost the whole length, and crowned with two beautiful eminences, the south-eastern named Breed's Hill, and the other Bunker's Hill. On the southern and western declivities of this hill stands Charlestown. After it was burnt, the proprietors had a fair opportunity of making it one of the most beautiful towns in the world. Had they thrown their property into a common stock; had the whole been then surveyed; had they laid out the streets with the full advantage furnished by the ground, which might have been done without lessening the quantity of enclosed ground; had they then taken their house lots, whenever they chose to do so, as near their former positions as the new location of the streets would have permitted; Charlestown would have been only beautiful. Its present location is almost only preposterous. Such a plan was, indeed, sufficiently a subject of conversation; but a miserable mass of prejudices prevented it from being executed. The houses in this town are all new, many of them good, and some handsome. The situations of some of them, also, are remarkably pleasant, particularly those in the southern declivity of Breed's Hill.

Charlestown was incorporated in the year 1629, one year after Salem, and one year before Boston. After the town was burnt, a part only of its former inhabitants returned. Its additional population has been formed by strangers, from many places, and of almost every description. The bonds, by which they are united, are of course feeble. In such a mixed body there will ever be found a great variety of wishes, opinions, and favourite objects of pursuit. Less harmony is therefore to be expected, and less is actually found, than in places where sympathy and habit have long established union of interest and similarity of character. The inhabitants of Charlestown are not a little divided in their parochial, town, and public concerns; and this division prevents much of the pleasure of life, which might otherwise be found on so charming a spot. There is less friendliness to learning and education, in Charlestown, than a traveller would naturally expect. You will, however, understand all these observations in a limited sense. A considerable number of the inhabitants possess the same respectable character, which has been attributed to their countrymen in the preceding parts of these Letters.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XLIII.

Battle of Breed's Hill. Major-General Warren. Burning of Charlestown by the British. Honourable James Russell.

DEAR SIR,

CHARLESTOWN will long be remembered in history as the scene of the first regular battle fought in the revolutionary war. A summary account of this event will, I am persuaded, not be uninteresting.

The measures adopted by General Gage, after the excursion to Concord, had extensively produced a belief that he was preparing to march his army into the country. Under the influence of this belief, the Massachusetts committee of safety had requested the provincial congress, at that time the legislature, to order the militia to be in readiness for any effort which necessity might demand. At the same time, they requested the commander in chief to occupy Bunker's Hill for the protection of the country in that quarter. What motives could induce the committee of safety to pitch upon this spot for such a purpose I am unable to conjecture. No place could be more unfortunately situated. The hill stands at a small distance only from the isthmus, which connects the peninsula with the main. The isthmus itself is scarcely one hundred yards in breadth, and may be easily and perfectly enfiladed by ships from the adjoining rivers, as may, indeed, the whole peninsula. While the British held the dominion of these waters, the Americans could have neither ingress nor egress without the most imminent danger. The possession of the hill could therefore be of no use to them, until they were of sufficient strength to attack the British in their fortifications, and drive them out of Boston.

A council of war was immediately summoned to consider this proposition. It was composed partly of officers, who had been active in the Canadian wars, and whose utmost acquaintance with military concerns extended only to forest fighting, and partly of younger men, more generally improved by education, but utterly destitute of military experience.

From a gentleman of great respectability, who was himself a member of this council, I received a detailed account of some of its deliberations. Had all its transactions been preserved and published, they would, I am confident, be now regarded as a curiosity. The following specimen will prove the correctness of this opinion.

After it had been resolved, that a thousand men should occupy Bunker's Hill, a question arose concerning the number of cartridges which it would be proper for each man to carry. The younger officers, guided only by their books and their common sense, proposed that the detachment should receive sixty rounds. The older officers, some of whom probably knew the small quantity of ammunition then in the province, and dreaded every expense of it, not demanded by absolute necessity, thought this number too great. One of them, who in his former life had been accustomed to the business of scouting, and valued himself upon being an expert huntsman, observed, that the young men evidently did not understand the business, and indeed could not, since they had had no military experience. "War," he said, "is in substance the same thing with hunting. A skilful hunter never shoots until he is secure of his mark. On the contrary, he watches and waits till the deer is fairly within his reach, and then taking exact aim, almost always makes sure of his object. In the same manner ought soldiers to act. To shoot at men without being sufficiently near, and without taking aim, is to shoot at random, and only to waste your powder. A thousand men are ordered out to Bunker's Hill. Suppose each man to have five rounds of cartridges, the whole number will be five thousand. If half of these should take effect (and, if they do not, the men are not fit to be entrusted with cartridges), the consequence is, that two thousand five hundred of the British soldiers fall. Does any man believe, that they will keep the ground until two thousand five hundred are shot down? Let our men take

aim then, as I do when I am hunting deer, and five rounds will be enough. Ten will certainly be more than enough."

Such is one specimen of the reasoning exhibited in the first American council of war; the first, I mean, after the revolutionary troubles began; and such was the opinion which in the main prevailed. The younger members of the council, although not convinced, were silenced. The older members were probably, in a degree at least, of the same opinion with the gentleman to whom I have alluded. War, to them, had been chiefly Indian war, in which exactness of aim is supremely important, and which in many respects resembles hunting more than regular fighting. This, together with a wish to preserve, as much as possible, the small quantity of ammunition in their power, induced them to vote a stinted supply; if I remember right, fifteen rounds, for the service proposed. What the opinion of the commander in chief was I know not. He probably judged, and I think wisely, that it was safer for himself, and better for the public, that the responsibility, in a case of this magnitude, should rest on the council, rather than on a single man.

The detachment, amounting to a thousand men, marched in the evening* under the command of Colonel Prescott, a brave and worthy inhabitant of Salem. Instead of stopping at Bunker's Hill, however, they directed their course by some mistake to Breed's Hill. Here, for the want of intrenching tools, and perhaps for other reasons unknown to me, they were hindered from beginning their work till midnight. Between that time and the dawn of day they wrought with such diligence and vigour as to raise to the height of four feet the walls of a redoubt, enclosing a piece of ground eight rods square. You will easily believe, that a sight of this work roused the attention of their enemies. The Lively man-of-war, lying in Charles river, began to fire upon them about four o'clock in the morning, and was followed by several other ships, by the floating batteries in the river, and by a fortification on Copp's Hill, at the north end of Boston. The firing continued incessantly until afternoon. The Americans, however, lost but one man; and never intermitted their work for a moment. This firmness in troops perfectly raw, and totally destitute of

* June 16, 1775.

either discipline or experience, will be admitted as full proof, that the epithets of coward and poltroon, liberally as they were bestowed, had never been merited by my countrymen.

"Between twelve and one o'clock, two detachments of the British, consisting of about three thousand men, and comprising the flower of their army, crossed Charles river, under the command of Major General Howe and Brigadier General Pigot, with an intention to dislodge the Americans. This body landed at Moreton's point, about two hundred rods south-east from the redoubt. The Americans had thrown up a breast-work, very imperfect indeed, extending from the eastern side of the redoubt to the foot of the hill, towards Mystic river; and, while the British army was forming for the attack, employed the interval in placing one rail fence in a parallel line, and at a small distance before another, and in filling the intervening space with a quantity of newly-mown grass. As soon as the British had formed, they advanced slowly to attack the Americans. The firing commenced on the part of the British about three o'clock. With a coolness that cannot be sufficiently admired in a body of undisciplined militia, the Americans reserved their own fire, and sustained that of their enemies, until they had advanced within twelve rods. Accustomed from their childhood to the use of arms, great numbers of the Americans were excellent marksmen; and although they did not reach the point of exactness prescribed to them in the council of war, yet they probably took a more certain and destructive aim than can be found in the history of any battle fought since the invention of gunpowder. The carnage was terrible. The British retreated in precipitate confusion; and some of them fled even to their boats. They were, however, rallied by their officers, and in some instances with the point of the sword, and were led again to the attack. The Americans now suffered them to approach within six rods of the breast-work, when they again mowed them down in heaps, and put them to flight. So great was the slaughter, that several of the British officers pronounced it to be mere butchery to lead them on anew. They were, however, compelled to the conflict. The redoubt was now assaulted on three sides at once. Most of those, who defended it, had ex-

hausted their ammunition, and were forced to finish their resistance with the butt-ends of their muskets.

When the Americans, on the right and left of the redoubt, perceived that that work had been carried, they yielded, successively, the ground which they occupied. Those on the left had been attacked by the light infantry, but had in the same manner repeatedly reserved their own fire until they were assured of their mark, and then cut down the assailants with unprecedented havoc. The battle was continued in this quarter, and the ground maintained, until their brethren in the redoubt had made good their retreat. These gallant men then retired in better order than could have been expected even from disciplined soldiers.

Their enemies had suffered too deeply to pursue them far; and, notwithstanding they were exposed, in their whole progress, to a tremendous fire from the shipping in both rivers, yet they crossed the isthmus with very little injury.

Rarely has an onset been more vigorously sustained. Both officers and soldiers were mere militia. Very few of them had ever seen an engagement, or known, except for a few weeks, even the rudiments of discipline. They were attacked by twice their number of the bravest and best-disciplined troops in the world, led by officers of great experience, talents, and fame. They had no cannon. Their muskets were ordinary, old, and ill-supplied with ammunition. Their enemies were provided with the best muskets, and the best field artillery, and were reinforced by a formidable cannonade from their ships, their floating batteries, and their fortifications on Copp's Hill. All these engines of slaughter, however, formidable as they were, failed in a great measure of their intended efficacy. The musketry, artillery, and their auxiliaries, shot chiefly over the heads of the Americans, while their own fire, with a sure and terrible direction, thinned the British ranks in a manner rarely or never paralleled.

The British lost in this engagement two hundred and twenty-six killed outright, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded. A serjeant belonging to their army, who declared that he had seen the original returns, informed a gentleman* of great re-

* The Rev. Dr. Elliott, senior.

spectability (and I suspect truly), that the whole number was one thousand three hundred and twenty-five. This number falls short of the loss in the celebrated battle of Minden three only: yet there the regiments, who suffered it, sustained for several hours the attack of the whole French army. Of the slain at Breed's Hill, nineteen were officers, and among them one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, and seven captains. Of the wounded, seventy were officers. At Minden, only thirteen officers were killed, and sixty-six wounded. This singular and disproportioned slaughter of officers was undoubtedly the result of that peculiar skill with which Americans direct the musket. Among the slain were Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie, an officer of superior merit, and Major Pitcairn, who first lighted the torch, and who at the time little thought how soon he should perish in the flame which he had kindled.

The Americans lost one hundred and thirty-nine killed, including those who died of their wounds, two hundred and seventy-eight wounded, and thirty-six missing, the whole amounting to four hundred and fifty-three. Among these were Major General Warren, Colonel Gardiner, Lieutenant Colonel Parker, and Majors Moore and M'Clany. All these, together with their compatriots who fell with them, were regretted as martyrs to the cause of freedom and America.

General Warren was remembered with peculiar respect. He was a volunteer in this conflict, having no other call to the scene of danger, besides attachment to the interests of his country. He was a man, adorned with all the endowments and accomplishments which make refined life desirable. He was also distinguished in the cabinet, glorious in the field, and immortal in his end. Only four days before he had been appointed a major-general in the American army. His devotion to the American cause was extreme, and his conviction of its rectitude entire. Unwilling to advise what he would not himself perform, he felt, with a zeal, perhaps excessive, that he was bound to appear personally with his countrymen in a battle which was within his reach, and in the issue of which he and they had a common interest. Few men have been more

esteemed by those who knew them; few have been more regretted *.

The horror of the scene was increased by the conflagration of Charlestown, effectuated during the heat of the battle, by the orders of General Gage. Charlestown, besides two hundred other buildings, contained at that time six public edifices, and about four hundred dwelling houses. In justification of this wanton act of barbarity, it was given out, that the American troops had stationed themselves in these buildings, and under their covert successfully annoyed their enemies. The truth is, there were no American troops in the town. What were the motives which produced this devastation it is impossible now to determine. It may have been the indulgence of revenge, or an intention to strike terror into the Americans, and to teach them, that their towns were universally destined to the flames. It may have been an expectation of adding to the confusion of the day, and of giving in this manner a favourable issue to the conflict. Whatever was the motive, it is probable that the buildings were regarded as belonging to rebels, and as being, therefore, of little value. But the act was unnecessary, useless, and wanton, and must attach to the authors of it perpetual infamy. Two thousand people were in a moment deprived of their habitations, furniture, and other necessaries; and property, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, perished in the flames. Nor was this conflagration less unwise than wicked. Instead of terror, it excited only rage; instead of producing submission, it roused a more determined hostility. The attack in the field was such as war authorizes; was made on men, and on soldiers, and could be easily forgotten. Here the assault was made on the man of grey hairs, the defenceless female, and the cradled infant. It edged, therefore, a resentment already keen; a breach, which before was wide, it rendered immeasurable.

In Europe, where events of this nature have received a dreadful kind of justification from immemorial custom, towns and cities perish, and their inhabitants are consigned to ruin,

* A decent monument has been erected on Breed's Hill, to the memory of General Warren, by King Solomon's Lodge.

without resentment or surprise. Scarcely a sigh is breathed, or a tear falls, at the recital of the melancholy tale. But America was in her youth, and the scene was here a novelty. The genuine emotions of nature, approved by reason, and founded in truth, sprang up therefore instinctively in every bosom. On the soundest principles every man, when he heard the story, determined that no plea could be alleged for this piece of cruelty. The sufferings of the inhabitants he regarded with intense pity, and the authors of them with loathing and horror.

But unjust and unworthy as the burning of Charlestown was, its flames wonderfully enhanced the dreadful magnificence of the day. To the vollies of musketry, and the roar of cannon; to the shouts of the fighting, and the groans of the dying; to the dark and awful atmosphere of smoke, enveloping the whole peninsula, and illumined in every quarter by the streams of fire from the various instruments of death; the conflagration of six hundred buildings added a gloomy and amazing grandeur. In the midst of this waving lake of flame, the lofty steeple, converted into a blazing pyramid, towered and trembled over the vast pyre, and finished the scene of desolation.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the tops of the houses, and the towers of the churches in Boston, and all the eminences in the neighbouring country, were covered throughout the day with immense multitudes, waiting and watching the issue of the conflict.

To the British, the consequences of this battle were those of a defeat; to the Americans, those of a victory. Through the whole of the succeeding year the British were shut up in Boston, and made not a single effort of any importance. The Americans learned that their enemies were not invulnerable, nor themselves poltroons; and that they might fairly hope, with the aid of discipline, to be able to vanquish those, whom, without it, they had been able to handle so severely. For one campaign they saw they had saved their country; and were convinced, that, with proper conduct, they might save it for many more. After the expedition to Concord, many individuals had indulged a foolish confidence in themselves, and an unwarrantable contempt for their enemies. By the serious events of Breed's Hill this folly was done away. In its place

succeeded a sober and just estimation of both. Accordingly, they made preparations for regular war, applied themselves to the study of military tactics, formed with vigorous efforts a disciplined army, and provided for it the means of acting with efficacy and success.

Before I finish my account of this town, I must be permitted to indulge my own feelings in a tribute of respect to the Honourable James Russell; lately one of its inhabitants, and living at the time when we took the journey which is the principal subject of these Letters.

This gentleman, who was descended from an honourable train of both paternal and maternal ancestors, was born in Charlestown, August 15th, 1715. Here, except during the revolutionary war, he spent his life. Few men in any age or country have presented a better character, a fairer image of excellence, to the eyes of mankind. As a son, a husband, a brother, a father, a neighbour, a friend, and a citizen, he adorned life with a peculiar native amiableness of character, and the superior worth of a Christian. I was intimately acquainted with this venerable man, and can therefore speak of him extensively from personal knowledge. I know not that I have ever seen a man less solicitous to shine, or more anxious to do good; or to whom I should more readily apply, without reserve, the honourable character given to Nathanael by the Saviour, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile."

Judge Russell possessed a sound, solid, practical understanding, and a benevolence and public spirit always directing it to the best objects. In the several useful and honourable offices which he sustained, of representative, councillor, and judge, he seems never to have forgotten his duty, nor the interests of his country. His integrity and patriotism were so obvious, as well as unmingled, in his actions, in his conversation, and, if I did not see him with a prejudiced eye, even in his countenance, that, while no man thought of questioning either, he was followed everywhere by respect and veneration.

To Charlestown he was a father. The interests of this town were always near his heart; and commanded at all times his wishes, his labours, and his property. At an early period it became a favourite object in his mind to have a bridge built

from Charlestown to Boston. At this time, it is probable every man in Massachusetts, besides himself, believed such an undertaking impracticable. He considered it as attended with no serious discouragement, beside what arose from this general conviction, and accordingly urged it until it was begun. His own children by birth and marriage, particularly the Honourable Thomas Russell, were primarily the promoters of the design. It may, I believe, be truly said, that to fulfil the wishes of this venerable man this important structure was erected.

To education, to literature, to the liberty and happiness of mankind, and particularly of his country, Judge Russell was an uniform, strenuous, and efficacious friend. To the poor he was a father. On this subject, "When the ear heard him, it blessed him; and when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him." In truth it may be considered as having been his professional employment to do good.

Of the religion of his ancestors, as you will naturally suppose from these observations, he was an unshaken friend, and an exemplary professor. His faith was that which worketh by love. It therefore adorned his life, and rendered him a blessing to the world. The hope, which is its genuine offspring, illumined his progress towards the invisible world, and shed peace and consolation on his dying-bed. He died in his eighty-third year, April 24th, 1798; in age still green and flourishing; his faculties of body and mind being still fresh, useful, and productive of serenity, cheerfulness, and enjoyment. Permit me to subjoin, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." Permit me also to remind you, that such a life and such a death can be the result of nothing but the religion of the Gospel.

Charlestown, in 1790, contained 1,583 inhabitants; in 1800, 349 dwelling-houses, and 2,751 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 4,959 *.

They are distributed into two congregations; a Presbyterian and a Baptist †.

I am, Sir, &c.

* By the census of 1820, Charlestown contained 6,591 inhabitants.—*Pub.*

† At present (1820) there are two Congregational, and two Baptist Societies.—*Pub.*

LETTER XLIV.

Cambridge. Harvard College. Its Buildings. List of its presiding Officers. Number of Students. Terms of Admission. Board of Overseers and Corporation. Library, &c. &c. Distinguished Inhabitants of Cambridge.

DEAR SIR;

ON Saturday, October 12th, we rode through Boston to Cambridge, where we dined. The distance from Charlestown to Boston, measured to the state-house, is about two miles; and thence to Cambridge three more. In the afternoon we visited President Willard, from whom we received every civility we could wish. What was particularly agreeable, he accompanied us to the public rooms in the university, where we were shown every thing which he thought would contribute to our information or amusement.

Cambridge was the fourth township colonized in the county of Middlesex; Charlestown being the first, Watertown the second, and Medford the third. The settlement of Cambridge was begun under the immediate direction of the government, in the year 1631. The town was laid out in squares; one of which was left open for a market, and is now known by the name of Market-place. Four of the streets run from north to south, and three others from east to west. The houses exhibit every gradation of building found in this country, except the log-hut. Several handsome villas, and other handsome houses, are seen here, a considerable number of decent ones, and a number, not small, of such as are ordinary and ill-repaired. To my eye this last appeared as if inhabited by men accustomed to rely on the university for their subsistence; men, whose wives are the chief support of their families by boarding, washing, mending, and other offices of the like nature. The husband, in the mean time, is a kind of gentle-

man at large; exercising an authoritative control over every thing within the purlieus of the house, reading newspapers and political pamphlets, deciding on the characters and measures of an administration, and dictating the policy of his country. In almost all families of this class, the mother and her daughters lead a life of meritorious diligence and economy; while the husband is merely a bond of union, and a legal protector of the household. Accordingly he is paid and supported, not for his services, but for his presence. In every other respect he is merely "nugæ canoræ;" just such another talking trifle as a parrot; having about as much understanding, and living just about as useful a life; a being, creeping along the limits of animated and unanimated existence; and serving, like an oyster, as a middle link between plants and animals. If such men are not found here, Harvard college may boast of exclusive privileges.

This thought struck me irresistibly as I was walking in the streets. How far it is applicable in fact, I am not informed.

The public buildings in this town are two churches, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal; the latter small, and in very bad repair, a grammar school-house, a court-house, a gaol, and an alms-house. The supreme court, and the courts of common pleas and general sessions of the peace, sit each in this town once a year. The gaol is chiefly disused, prisoners in the county of Middlesex being usually sent to Concord.

Harvard college is now styled the University in Cambridge. This seminary, the first erected in British America, was begun in the year 1636, by an appropriation of £400 sterling, made for the purpose by the general court of the colony. In 1638 the Reverend John Harvard, of Charlestown, gave to it the one-half of his property, amounting to £779 17*s.* 2*d.* sterling*. From this time it changed its first name of a public school into a college. The town also, which hitherto had been called Newtown, was now named Cambridge, in honour of that seat of science in England, at which a great number of the principal New-England planters had received their education. Thus, within ten years after the little flock, which commenced the settlement of Massachusetts, landed at Salem, and

* Mather.

within eighteen years after the first foot was set on the shore of Plymouth, a college was endowed by them and established. It is questionable, whether a more honourable specimen of public spirit can be found in the history of mankind.

By the magistrates and ministers of the colony, Mr. Henry Dunster was chosen the first president, in the year 1640, and continued in office fourteen years. The following gentlemen have succeeded him in this office:—

1654	Rev. Charles Chauncey, resigned	1671
1672	Leonard Hoare, M. D., died	1675
1675	Rev. Urian Oakes, A. M., died	1681
1682	John Rogers, A. M., died	1684
1685	Rev. Increase Mather, S. T. D., resigned . .	1701
1701	Rev. Samuel Willard, Vice-President, died.	1707
1708	Hon. John Leverett, A. M. S. R. S., died. .	1724
1725	Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, A. M., died. . .	1737
1737	Rev. Edward Holyoke, A. M., died	1769
1770	Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D., resigned . . .	1773
1774	Rev. Samuel Langdon, S. T. D., resigned. .	1780
1781	Rev. Joseph Willard, S. T. D. LL. D. . . .	1804
1806	Rev. Samuel Webber, D. D., died	1810
1810	Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D. LL. D.*	

The first commencement in this seminary was holden in the year 1642, when the degree of bachelor of arts was conferred upon nine students. Since that period, including these, there have been graduated here (1810) three thousand nine hundred and fifty-five.

The average number of students, resident in the university, is from two hundred to two hundred and twenty†.

The original terms of admission, so far as the Latin language was concerned, were, that the student should be able

* From the Triennial Catalogue of 1818 it appears, that there have been

Graduated at Harvard	4,442
Of these have died	2,734
There are now living	1,708
There are of ministers living	285
dead	913—*Pub.*

† Since this was written, they have been much more numerous.

to read any classical author into English, should readily make and speak true Latin, and should write it in verse as well as prose. Unhappily these terms have been continually lowered by gradual concessions, both here and elsewhere. I do not wish every student in a college, to employ himself in writing Latin verse; but I sincerely wish, that the knowledge of the ancient languages was now holden in similar estimation.

The terms of admission, and the mode of education, in this seminary, differ, immaterially, from those in Yale college, which have been already mentioned. Here the leaning is towards the languages, in Yale college towards the arts and sciences.

In the year 1642, the general court constituted a board of overseers for Harvard college, consisting of the governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates of the colony, and of the teaching elders of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, together with the president.

In 1650, the first charter was granted by the general court, which constituted a corporation, consisting of the president, five fellows, and the treasurer; by the style of the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Beside other important powers, this body has the superintendence of all the collegiate property. Of these two bodies the academical legislature was formed.

By the present constitution of the commonwealth of Massachusetts this charter was established, and the governor, lieutenant-governor, council, and senate of the state, and the congregational ministers of the above-mentioned towns, were declared the future overseers. By this constitution, also, the style of "The University in Cambridge" was first legally given.

The corporation fills all vacancies in its own body, and elects all executive officers. But these elections, together with their laws, and their votes concerning salaries and degrees, must be presented to the board of overseers for their concurrence.

The executive officers are the president, three professors, four tutors, and the librarian. The professorships of divinity, and of mathematics and natural philosophy, were

founded by Mr. Thomas Hollis, a merchant of London, the former in 1722, the latter in 1726. The professorship of Hebrew, and other oriental languages, was founded by the Honourable Thomas Hancock, an eminent merchant of Boston, in 1765. The professors read lectures to all the students assembled, and give private instruction to the respective classes. Medical lectures are also read here by medical professors, who are respectable physicians residing in the vicinity. Partial foundations have been laid for professorships of anatomy and surgery, and for a professorship of the theory and practice of physic, by the late Dr. Ezekiel Hersey, his relict Mrs. Sarah Hersey, and his brother Mr. Abner Hersey of Barnstable; and for a professorship of chemistry and materia medica, by the late Major William Erving. These professorships are called after the names of the founders. As the funds are insufficient to support the lectures, the students, who attend them, are taxed in moderate sums. To the fund for a professorship of the theory and practice of physic, an addition has been made by the late Dr. John Cummins, of Concord.

A foundation has been laid here for two other professorships; for one of rhetoric and oratory, by the late Nicholas Boylston, Esq., of Boston, with others; Mr. Boylston having given £1,500 sterling more than any other contributor: the other of natural religion, moral philosophy, and civil polity, by the Honourable John Alford of Charlestown. The former of these professorships is already instituted. The funds for the latter will, it is said, soon be adequate to the support of a professor.

In the year 1805, 30,833 dollars were raised in Boston, and the other wealthy towns in this vicinity, for the establishment of a botanic garden and professorship. The professor has been chosen and inducted into office. His official title is professor of natural history. I know not whether the garden has been begun*.

The tutors teach, one, the Latin language; another, the

* In addition to the professorships mentioned above, there are now (1820) one of logic and ethics, one of the Greek language, one of the Latin language, one of Greek literature, and one of law, and professorships of chemistry and materia medica.—*Pub.*

Greek; another, logic, metaphysics, and ethics; and the fourth, the elements of geometry, natural philosophy, and astronomy. The students recite their lessons as in Yale college. One of the tutors is a permanent officer.

The students are annually examined before a committee of the corporation and overseers. A committee also visits the institution twice a year, to inquire into its state and report to the board.

The period of education, and the terms on which degrees are given, are the same as at Yale college.

A fund, derived from the estate of Governor Hopkins, formerly mentioned, furnishes a considerable sum, annually, towards the support, on specified conditions, of six resident bachelors; who are supposed, generally, to be students in Theology.

The late Governor Bowdoin left a legacy of three hundred pounds sterling to this seminary; the interest of which is given to the person, who shall exhibit the best English composition.

The public commencement was holden on the third Wednesday of July, until the year 1802. It was then transferred to the last Wednesday in August.

The buildings, belonging to the university, are four* colleges, a chapel, and a house, originally a private dwelling, now called the college-house. The names of the colleges are Massachusetts-Hall, Hollis-Hall, Stoughton-Hall, and Harvard-Hall. The three first of these contain thirty-two rooms each. Massachusetts'-Hall has two stories; the other two, four. Stoughton-Hall is new, and a neat building. Harvard-Hall contains only public rooms; the library, chapel, dining-hall, philosophical chamber, a museum, and a room for the philosophical apparatus. This building is erected on the site of an ancient college, having the same name, and burnt in the month of January, 1764, together with the library, apparatus, &c. The general court, being prevented from sitting in Boston at that time by the small-pox, held their session in this building. While it was thus occupied it took fire, and was consumed.

* Now (1820) five colleges, and a new hall, of grey granite, containing the chapel, lecture rooms, dining rooms and kitchen. This last is the handsomest building in the state.—*Pub.*

This was a very fortunate event for the institution. The general court felt itself bound, in honour, to restore every thing to it, which had been thus destroyed. And accordingly furnished a better building, a better library, and a better philosophical apparatus, than those which had been consumed.

The chapel, named Holden chapel, is a small building; unoccupied for many years, but lately divided into several rooms, in which recitations are heard, and lectures given.

The college house is a wooden building of three stories; containing twelve private rooms, inhabited by the students.

The plan for locating these buildings, if any such plan existed, was certainly unfortunate.

The library contains about fifteen thousand* volumes, and is unquestionably the best in the United States. The philosophical apparatus is rich and ample. The museum contains a considerable number of natural and artificial curiosities, and valuable specimens in mineralogy, principally presented by Dr. Lettsom, of London, and the French committee of public safety.

Since the building of West Boston bridge, the current of travelling from the interior country to the capital has extensively passed through this town. Under the influence of speculation, a village has been raised up at the western end of the bridge, called Cambridge Port. Here, it was supposed, trade might be made to flourish, and mechanical business be extensively done. It is doubtful whether the golden expectations, cherished by the proprietors of the ground, will be speedily realized. The neighbourhood of the capital, and the superior facilities which it furnishes for commercial enterprise, will probably be a lasting hindrance to all considerable mercantile efforts on this spot.

The grammar-school in this town was very early established by a donation of Governor Hopkins. Instruction in the learned languages, gratis, is provided continually for five boys in this school.

The early planters of this country, with a benevolence and piety worthy the highest commendation, made exertions to provide education for the Indian natives: intending, parti-

* Now upwards of twenty-five thousand. 1820.

cularly, to prepare them for the ministry. In 1665, a brick building was erected in this town for an Indian college. A few of the natives commenced their education here, and one completed it. Philip's war put an end both to the efforts and the hopes of our ancestors concerning this subject; and destroyed all disposition on the part of the Indians to receive the benefits intended.

The first printing-office in New-England was set up in this town at the expense of the Rev. Joseph Glover, a clergyman, who died on his passage to America. A Mr. Day was the first possessor of the press. Whether he printed any thing, or not, I am ignorant. Mr. Samuel Green is universally and justly considered as the father of the printing business in America. From him are derived, in a direct line of typographical descent, most of the printers in the United States. A considerable part of them have been his lineal descendants. The first thing printed in New-England was the Freeman's Oath; the second, Pearce's New-England Almanack; the third, the New-England Version of the Psalms. These Psalms were versified by several divines in concert: and, strange as it may seem, were committed to President Dunster to be polished. A modern reader would almost instinctively ask, "What were they before?"

Cambridge has always numbered among its inhabitants those distinguished for respectability of character. Mr. Hooker, whom I have mentioned in the account of Hartford, was minister of this town about three years, from 1633 to 1636. The several clergymen, who followed him in the ministry, particularly Mr. Shephard and Mr. Mitchel, are held in very honourable remembrance. Most of the gentlemen, who have presided over this seminary, have been distinguished for learning and talents, as well as for piety.

Major-General Daniel Gookin, a gentleman, who deserves to be had in perpetual remembrance for his wisdom, piety, and useful services to his country, resided in this town forty-three years.

The Honourable John Winthrop, LL. D., for many years professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Harvard college, would, it is believed, have done honour in the same

station to any seminary in Europe. In his own country he was held in the highest estimation; and for a number of years was appointed a member of the legislative council.

The late Judge Trowbridge was a magistrate, highly venerated for his learning, wisdom, and uprightness.

The Honourable Mr. Dana, the late chief justice of the state, and formerly minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the court of St. Petersburgh, is an inhabitant of this town.

I ought to have mentioned, that the greatest disadvantage under which this seminary labours is the proximity of Boston. The allurements of this metropolis have often become too powerfully seductive to be resisted by the gay, and sometimes even by the grave youths, who assemble here for their education. Since the erection of West-Boston bridge, the distance between these towns is reduced from five to little more than three miles. This fact, as I have been informed by the governors of the university, has rendered the evil alluded to still greater. The bustle and splendour of a large commercial town are necessarily hostile to study. Theatres, particularly, can scarcely fail of fascinating the mind at so early a period of life. At the same time, the opulence and liberality of the capital have often supplied the pecuniary wants of this institution, and through the correspondence, extensively maintained between Boston and Great Britain, have been derived to it, from that country, many important benefactions.

Cambridge lately contained three parishes; Cambridge, Little Cambridge, and Menotomy. In these are five congregations: three Presbyterian, an Episcopal, and a Baptist. In the parish of Menotomy there is the most considerable manufactory of wool and cotton cards in the United States. A machine is employed here, which bends, cuts, and sticks the card teeth by a single operation. Mr. Ebenezer Chittenden, of New-Haven, is the original inventor of the machine for cutting and bending card teeth: and from his machine has been derived every other of this nature in America. Mr. Amos Whittemore of Cambridge made, in 1797, the important addition of sticking the teeth in the same process. Twenty-three of these machines, employed in this manufactory

in the year 800, stuck four hundred dozen cards on an average weekly. The cards are of the best quality*.

The number of inhabitants in this town, in the year 1790, was 2,115; in the year 1798, the number of dwelling houses was 311; in the year 1800, the number of houses was 320, and of inhabitants 2,453; in 1810, 2,323†, and, within its original limits, 3,902.

I am, Sir, &c.

* This manufactory is now established in the city of New-York, and is the property of a company styled the "New-York Manufacturing Company."

† By the census of 1820 Cambridge contained 3,295 inhabitants.—*Pub.*

LETTER XLV.

Boston, the chief Town in New-England. Its Streets laid out in an unfortunate Manner. Its ancient and modern Houses. Its Public Buildings and Bridges.

DEAR SIR;

MONDAY, October 14th, we visited Cobble Hill; the handsome seat of Joseph Barrell, Esq. This ground, while the British continued in Boston, was a place of much notoriety as a scene of military transactions. It is now a beautiful plantation; and, considering the short period since it was begun, highly improved. The house furnishes one of the best prospects of this charming country. On our return we passed over Bunker's and Breed's Hills; and, after regaling ourselves with the rich landscapes around them, gratified our curiosity by examining the ground on which was fought the battle mentioned above.

Tuesday, October 15th, we rode over to Boston; where we spent the day very pleasantly in visiting every thing which interested our curiosity.

Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and the principal town in New-England, lies in 42° 22′ 23″ north latitude, and in 70° 58′ 53″ west of London. It is built on a peninsula, at the bottom of Massachusetts' bay. This peninsula is one mile, three-fourths, and fifty-seven rods, in length; and one mile and forty-two rods in breadth; of a very irregular form, and not easily described. It contains between seven hundred and eight hundred acres; and with a population occupying the whole ground, and conveniently spread, would contain seven thousand houses, and from sixty to seventy thousand inhabitants. To the main it is united by an isthmus, in length one mile and eleven rods. The whole length of the

township is almost three miles. The isthmus is already built upon to a considerable extent; and, at a period not very distant, will probably be covered with houses.

Boston contains one hundred and thirty-five streets, twenty-one lanes, eighteen courts, and, it is said, a few squares; although, I confess, I have never seen any thing in it, to which I should give that name. The streets, if we except a small number, are narrow, crooked, and disagreeable. The settlers appear to have built where they wished, where a vote permitted, or where danger or necessity forced them to build. The streets strike the eye of a traveller, as if intended to be mere passages from one neighbourhood to another, and not as the open, handsome divisions of a great town; as the result of casualty, and not of contrivance.

It deserves to be remembered, that almost all the great cities in the world have been formed in a similar manner. London, Paris, Amsterdam, Lisbon, Madrid, Vienna, Moscow, Constantinople, Cairo, Aleppo, &c., are all principally built on wretched streets, and with a deplorable confusion. The founders of Nineveh and Babylon seem to have been the only ancients, who understood this subject. Whence these men acquired such largeness of heart it will be difficult to determine; unless we suppose Nineveh to have derived its noble form from traditionary remains of antediluvian improvement, and Babylon to have been a copy of Nineveh. The Chinese have, indeed, formed their cities with regularity; but their streets, except a few of those in Pekin, are very narrow and inconvenient.

Why the Greeks, who readily adopted the improvements of other countries, and originated so many of their own, neglected an article of such importance, an article too, with which they were perfectly acquainted, it is not easy to explain.

It is remarkable, that the scheme of forming public squares, so beautiful, and in great towns so conducive to health, should have been almost universally forgotten. Nothing is so cheerful, so delightful, or so susceptible of the combined elegancies of nature and art. On these open grounds the inhabitants might always find sweet air, charming walks, fountains refreshing the atmosphere, trees excluding the sun, and, toge-

ther with fine flowering shrubs, presenting to the eye the most ornamental objects found in the country. Here, also, youth and little children might enjoy those sports, those voluntary indulgences, which in fresh air are, peculiarly to them, the sources of health and the prolongation of life. Yet many large cities are utterly destitute of these appendages; and in no city are they so numerous as the taste for beauty, and a regard for health, compel us to wish.

We are not, however, to wonder, that so much imperfection should be found in the plan of Boston. Those, who formed it, were in a sense exiles, forced to leave their country on account of their religion. In many instances they had been plundered of their property, and in many were poor from other causes. They were few, ill-furnished with the means of living remote from supplies; and in doubt and distress concerning the future subsistence of their families. At the same time, they were surrounded by savages; and of course exposed to hostilities, which must be dreaded but could not be foreseen. To provide means of defence for themselves and their children, and to fulfil the demands of religion and good neighbourhood, constituted the sum of their duties and enjoyments. Their object was, not to lay the foundations of a great city, but to secure a refuge for themselves; not to make their descendants great, but to establish them in the possession of civil and religious liberty. Men in these circumstances, and entertaining these views, can scarcely be supposed to direct even their imaginations, much less their sober plans, to means of future and distant elegance. A moderate share of comfort for themselves, and for their children, naturally engrosses all their thoughts, and satisfies their utmost ambition.

Had Boston been laid out in some such manner as the following: had the Main Street been carried, with a breadth of one hundred and twenty feet, from the southern limit to the northern, and accompanied by others running parallel to it, ninety feet wide, and sufficiently numerous to occupy the whole ground; had these been crossed at right angles by others of a corresponding breadth; had ten open squares been formed at the proper intersections of the principal streets; the largest containing ten, and the smallest five acres,

all beautified with selected ornaments; or had some other plan, substantially resembling this, and directed by the nature of the ground, been completed: Boston would even now have been the most beautiful town, that the world has ever seen. No spot of ground is a happier site for a large city. Its surface is most agreeably varied. Three hills, of considerable size, relieve it from the tameness of a dead flat. They are advantageously posited. Beacon Hill ascends on the west, Copp's Hill on the north, and Fort Hill on the east. They furnish the most eligible situations for private, and especially for public, buildings; and yield ample means for conveying off the water rapidly, and for keeping the streets, yards, and gardens, continually clean and sweet*. All the streets, except Main Street, at the south end would in this case have terminated on the water; and assumed the appearance of vistas, opening on this beautiful object. The surrounding scenery, exquisite in its variety and beauty, would have been visible, and new at every little distance. On both sides of such streets might have been set handsome rows of trees; so eminently delightful in a city, and so necessary as a shelter from our summer sun. At the same time, they would have been ventilated by every wind that blew; and would have assured the inhabitants of the utmost health, furnished by our climate. Who, that has any taste for the beauties of nature, or any regard for the health and happiness of his fellow-men, will not regret, that some plan, like this, was not formed at the original settlement of Boston?

A great number of houses in this town are indifferent buildings; indifferent, I mean, for a place of such distinction; and a considerable number deserve this character in the absolute sense. Many of them are of wood; some of these are handsome. The reasons, why Boston, considered at large, is not so well built as New-York and Philadelphia, are obvious. Compared with these cities, Boston is ancient. Philadelphia

* Beacon Hill received its name from being resolved on as a spot, where a beacon was to be customarily erected. A fort, anciently built on Fort Hill, gave it this name. Copp's, or rather Cope's Hill, was so called from the first owner of the ground, whose name was Cope.—*Gordon.* From the appearance of these hills at Charlestown, the first settlement in this neighbourhood, Boston was originally called Trimountain.

was a forest in the beginning of the year 1682, fifty-two years after the settlement of Boston.

New-York, although settled by the Dutch planters in the year 1614, was a little trading village long after Boston was a great commercial town. For more than a century the inhabitants of Boston imported the merchandize of Europe, particularly of Great Britain, for the people of New-York. In the year 1774, Philadelphia did not contain more than one-fourth, and New-York one-fifth of its present number of houses. Boston, on the contrary, increased very little during the last century, until after the year 1790. A large proportion of its buildings were, therefore, erected at periods, when the inhabitants were in humble circumstances, and their knowledge in architecture was very defective. Some of them are mere relics of the seventeenth century.

The people of New-York and Philadelphia, to a great extent, live also in hired houses; built by a moderate number of men, able and interested to build such as are good. The people of Boston, as a body, have very generally lived in their own houses. Each man, therefore, builds according to his ability: and you need not be informed, that the greater number of people in any city must, in this case, fall much below the boundary of elegance.

The modern houses in this town are, however, superior to those of every American city. These are scattered in great numbers throughout most parts of the town. In West Boston, and still more on Mount Vernon (the modern name of Beacon Hill), they appear with peculiar advantage. Until within a few years, the last mentioned spot was almost absolutely a waste. In the year 1796 it was purchased by three gentlemen of Boston, and all its roughnesses and irregularities removed at a prodigious expense, its steep western declivity cut down, and a field of near thirty acres converted into one of the most beautiful building grounds in the world. A great part of this field is already covered with elegant houses, some of them superb; and in splendour of building, and nobleness of situation, is not on this side of the Atlantic within many degrees of a rival.

There are several pretty streets in Boston. Among them, Franklin Place, a street of four hundred and eighty feet in

length, fifty feet in breadth at the two ends, and one hundred feet at the centre, is particularly handsome. The middle of the street is a grass plat, surrounded by trees, and guarded by posts and chains. The name is derived from a monument of Dr. Franklin, who was a native of this town.

In 1692 a law was enacted by the legislature of the colony, requiring, that "no dwelling-house, shop, warehouse, barn, stable, nor any other housing of more than eight feet in length or breadth, and seven feet in height, should thenceforth be erected and set up in Boston, but of stone or brick, and covered with slate or tile; unless where in a case of necessity, certified by a majority of the justices and select-men, the governor, with advice of council, should give permission." In this law a reference is had to a similar one, enacted in 1688. I think there was at least one such law in being antecedently to this date. Several others have been made in latter times. The last was June 14, 1810. All, which have preceded this, have been evaded, or in some other manner have proved inefficacious. It is to be hoped, that after the sévere lessons, which the inhabitants have been taught by fire, the last law will be implicitly obeyed.

The water in the pumps, which exist everywhere, is much better than in those of New-York and Philadelphia. Gardens also, of considerable extent, and well furnished with vegetables, flowers, and sometimes with fruit-trees, adorn many parts of this town. Nothing can have a more cheerful aspect in the midst of a city.

The public buildings are eighteen churches*; ten Presbyterian, three Episcopal, two Baptist, one Methodist, one Roman Catholic, and one Universalist; a state-house; a court-house; Faneuil Hall; a gaol; a work-house; a bridewell; a town-house; an alms-house; a medical college; a custom-house; and a theatre†. Several of the Presbyterian churches are new and handsome buildings; particularly that in Federal Street, the new South church, the church in Hollis Street,

* Now twenty-four (1820); eleven Presbyterian, four Episcopal, three Baptist, two Methodist, two Universalist, one Roman Catholic, and one African church. — *Pub.*

† There have since been erected an additional court-house and a general hospital. — *Pub.*

and that in Park Street. The last stands in a very eligible situation. The others are generally decent buildings.

The state-house, which stands on the eastern side of Beacon Hill, has a most noble and commanding position. It is one hundred and seventy-three feet in length, and sixty-one in breadth. It consists of a basement story, twenty feet in height; a principal, thirty feet in height; and in the centre an attic, twenty feet in height, extending sixty feet, and covered with a pediment. Above this is a dome, fifty feet in diameter and thirty in height; and above this a circular lantern, crowned with a gilt pine cone. The basement story is divided into a large hall; two entries, containing each two flights of stairs; and the offices of the treasurer and secretary. In the second story are the representatives' chamber, fifty-five feet square; the senate chamber, fifty-five by thirty-three; and the council chamber, twenty-seven feet square; together with about twenty other rooms, of inferior consequence. This building is finished in a rich style, and cost about £40,000 sterling.

The alms-house is a handsome building, beautifully situated on a point in the western part of the town. I know of no structure destined to the same purpose, which can be compared with it, either in site or appearance*.

The other public buildings exhibit nothing to the eye deserving of any particular attention†.

The bridges, which connect this town with the main, have higher claims. The first of these in order is Charles-river-bridge, which unites this town with Charlestown. This was the first effort to erect a bridge over a broad river in the American States. A brief account of its origin will not be destitute of interest.

Judge Russell, the gentleman whom I have already respectfully mentioned, was long and ardently desirous that a bridge should be erected between these towns. As he advanced in years, he became more and more solicitous to see the work

* A handsomer is now building in New-York, 1815.

† The new court-house, the general hospital, of which only the centre building and one of the wings are yet erected, and the new Episcopal church in Common Street are inferior to no buildings of the same kind in the country. They are all of the grey granite; a material for building, inferior to no other for durability and beauty. — *Pub.*

accomplished. His son, the late Honourable Thomas Russell, and his son-in-law, the late Honourable John Lowell, district judge of Massachusetts, together with several other gentlemen connected with them, were earnestly desirous to see the wishes of this venerable man realized. At that time it was universally believed, that for a river so wide, and a current so strong, a floating bridge was the only practicable structure of this nature. They therefore engaged a gentleman to obtain for them a correct account of the construction, expense, convenience, and security of the floating bridge then lying on the Schuylkill, at Philadelphia. Several other persons, at that time bound to Europe, they requested also to furnish them with similar information concerning bridges in that quarter of the globe. While this business was in agitation, both the gentlemen being on a visit at Cambridge, during the session of the supreme judicial court, they made the projected bridge a subject of conversation with the Honourable David Sewall, one of the judges. In the course of this conversation the designs, mentioned above, were particularly stated. On his return to York, the place of his residence, Judge Sewall communicated this information to his brother, Major Sewall, a gentleman distinguished for peculiar mechanical talents. After being informed; that the difficulties presented by the stream furnished the only reason for erecting a floating bridge, Major Sewall observed, that a fixed bridge might be so constructed as easily and certainly to be secure from the dangers of the current. His brother requested him to state his views to the gentlemen concerned. Accordingly he formed and communicated a scheme for the intended structure. After this scheme had been thoroughly examined, the original design was relinquished, and the present bridge begun. At the request of the undertakers, Major Sewall came to Boston, and continued to superintend the work until he had completely possessed the builders of the principles on which it was to be accomplished.

The facts I had from Judge Lowell himself. I have recited them, merely to do justice to merit, to which justice has not hitherto been publicly done. Major Sewall I never saw: but I think him deserving of a high tribute of respect from every American, as a source of those vast improvements, which

have been made, throughout the United States, in this interesting branch of architecture.

Charlestown bridge was finished in 1787. It is built on seventy-five wooden piers; and is forty-two feet in breadth, and one thousand five hundred and three in length; the river being here two hundred and eighty feet wider than the Thames at Westminster bridge, and six hundred and three feet wider than the same river at London bridge. It is also deeper. Foot ways are formed on each side. The centre rises insensibly two feet higher than the ends. The bridge was built by two able and ingenious American artists, Messrs. Cox and Stone, and cost 50,000 dollars. About forty large bridges have been built in the United States, in consequence of the erection of this structure.

West-Boston bridge is a more expensive and a more interesting object. It is made up of four parts:—

	Feet.
The abutment on the Boston side, in length .	87½
Principal bridge	3,483
Second bridge	275
Causeys	3,344
Total . . .	7,189½

This bridge is forty feet wide, and is executed in the same manner. The principal bridge stands on one hundred and eighty piers, the second on fourteen. The sides of the causeys are stoned, capstained, and railed, and accompanied by a canal thirty feet wide. The whole work was accomplished under the direction of Major Whiting, of Norwich (Connecticut), at the expense of 76,700 dollars; about £17,250 sterling. It was begun, July 15th, 1792, and was opened November 23d, 1793. It is finished with more neatness than the Charlestown bridge.

A third bridge has been built over this river, from West-Boston to Lechmere's point in Cambridge, by Dr. Craigie, a wealthy inhabitant of Cambridge. This bridge is two thousand seven hundred and forty feet long, and fifty-six broad. A branch bridge connects the centre of Craigie's bridge with State-Prison Point in Charlestown.

A fourth bridge crosses the inlet on the south-eastern side of Boston; and unites it with South Boston, formerly Dorchester Neck. This also differs immaterially from those already described*.

I am, Sir, &c.

* An act passed the legislature in 1815, authorizing the erection of a mill-dam across the basin which separates Boston from Roxbury and Brooklyne. The work was commenced in 1818, under the direction of Uriah Cotting, Esq., a gentleman, to whose energy and enterprise the town had previously been indebted for the erection of Broad Street, New Market Street, and Central Wharf. Mr. Cotting died in 1819. The mill-dam is nearly completed. It is upwards of one and three-quarters of a mile in length, and fifty feet in breadth. The expense of this work will exceed half a million of dollars. No enterprise of a similar nature, comparable to this, has been commenced on this side of the Atlantic.—*Pub.*

LETTER XLVI.

Boston. Its Commercial Institutions. Its Literary and Charitable Societies. Its Common Schools, Police, Commerce, and Manufactures.

DEAR SIR;

BOSTON contains a considerable number of incorporated societies, commercial, literary, and charitable. The commercial Societies are, first, two banks; Massachusetts' Bank, whose capital is 400,000 dollars, or £90,000 sterling; and Union Bank, whose capital is 800,000 dollars, or £180,000 sterling*.

There are also several insurance companies†, and a chamber of commerce in this town.

* The banks in Boston in 1820, and the amount of their capitals, were as follows:—

	Capital.
Massachusetts Banks . . . . . Dollars,	1,600,000
Union Bank	800,000
Boston Bank	900,000
State Bank	1,800,000
New-England Bank	1,000,000
Manufacturers and Mechanics Bank	750,000
Suffolk Bank	500,000
A Branch of the Bank of U. S.	750,000

Pub.

† The insurance companies in 1820 were,

	Capital.
Massachusetts Fire and Marine . . . . . Dollars,	400,000
Massachusetts Mutual Fire	300,000
Boston Marine	300,000
Suffolk	300,000
New-England Marine	300,000
Union	300,000
American	300,000
Merchants	300,000
Eagle	100,000

Pub.

The literary societies are, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; American Antiquarian Society; Massachusetts' Medical Society; Massachusetts' Historical Society; Boston Library Society; Massachusetts' Agricultural Society; Boston Athenæum, an institution substantially resembling that of the same name in Liverpool, &c.*

The charitable societies in this town are, the Massachusetts' Congregational Charitable Society, instituted for the relief of destitute widows and children of deceased ministers; Boston Episcopal Charitable Society; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the Massachusetts' Missionary Society; Massachusetts' Bible Society; Evangelical Missionary Society; Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; American Education Society; the Humane Society, instituted for the Relief of Distressed Seamen; the Baptist Education Fund; the Boston Female Asylum; and the Boston Dispensary.

Beside these there is the Boston Mechanic Association.

From these institutions, which include in the number of their immediate agents a great proportion of the wealth, talents, and influence, of this town, you will easily believe, that commerce, learning, and charity, engross, here, no inconsiderable share of attention.

* I have not been able to obtain any good account of the Boston Athenæum. From an advertisement published by the secretary of the institution I have learned, that it is under the direction of a board of trustees; and that the library contains about eighteen thousand volumes, which are the property of the institution. Among these are many valuable works in various languages, and in different branches in literature and science. Many of them are very rare in this country, and some of the editions very splendid. A great part of both are donations. The collection of French literary and philosophical journals, of political and periodical publications, and of works relating to the history of this country, is supposed not to be exceeded in the United States.

Two-thirds of the original funds of the institution have been invested in a building, and in a permanent fund, the interest of which only is to be annually expended.

A large and valuable collection of medals has been lately made, intended for the inspection of the public. A collection of minerals also has been begun.

The institution is prosperous, and is certainly very honourable to the town, and particularly to the gentlemen who have raised it to such a degree of respectability.

This is the only large town within my knowledge, in which schools have been formed into a system. That, which is pursued here is excellent; and, if we consider the spirit and punctuality with which it is apparently executed, reflects high honour on the good sense and liberality of the inhabitants. The public schools are seven in number; six of them English, the other a Latin grammar school. Into the English schools children of both sexes are admitted at seven years of age, and may continue until they are fourteen. Boys cannot be admitted into the grammar school until they have reached the age of ten*.

These schools are visited and regulated by a committee of twenty-one gentlemen, annually chosen, and invested with ample powers for the purposes of their commission. It is the duty of these gentlemen "to visit the schools once in three months; to examine the scholars in the various branches in which they are taught; to devise the best methods for the instruction and government of the schools; to give such advice to the masters as they shall judge expedient; and by all proper means to excite in the children a laudable ambition to excel in virtuous, amiable deportment, and in every branch of useful knowledge."

At the annual visitation, in July 1795, thirteen hundred children were instructed in these schools.

At the examination, in August 1803, the number of children was one thousand six hundred and nineteen: nine hundred and seventy-four boys, and six hundred and forty-five girls.

The attention, here paid to this object, may be conjectured from the character of the persons who were present. These,

* Primary public schools have lately been established for the instruction of children between four and seven years of age.

The whole number of primary schools in operation, January 1821, was thirty-five. The number of children belonging to these schools was one thousand eight hundred and six: girls eight hundred and eighty-five, boys nine hundred and twenty-one. A general regulation is, that no school shall have less than forty, nor more than fifty children attached to it. The instructors are all females, and are paid two hundred and forty dollars per annum, in quarterly payments, in full for school-room, fuel, &c.

These public primary schools are considered as superior to the private ones; the children of the first class in the former having higher studies and greater lessons than those of the fourth class at the latter.—*Pub.*

beside the committee, were the lieutenant-governor, the councillors, and senators, belonging to the county of Suffolk, the representatives, clergy, and justices of Boston, and the sheriff of the county, together with several other gentlemen of distinction.

The number of private schools is great.

Boston was divided, in the year 1775, into twelve wards. Its police, like that of all other towns in New-England, is in the hands of select-men, of whom nine are annually chosen to superintend its internal affairs. Beside these, a great number of other officers are employed in the different departments of this business.

The most enlightened inhabitants have long since perceived, that a more energetic police than the present is necessary for the best government of so large a town. To obtain this benefit efforts have heretofore been made; but they have hitherto been unsuccessful; the majority of the inhabitants being strongly attached to the present system. A Bostonian admits with no small reluctance, if he admits at all, that he needs any regulations, which are not equally necessary for an inhabitant of Worcester or Northampton. These towns, he is well assured, are perfectly well regulated by town-meetings and select-men. "Why," he naturally asks, "may not Boston be equally well regulated by the same authority?" Where the spirit of liberty is on so high a key, new restraints will scarcely be welcomed by the mere conviction of their expediency. Necessity only, and that little less than absolute, will persuade most men to admit cheerfully the unpleasant change from a smaller to a greater number of restrictions.

Were the government of Boston to be placed in the hands of a mayor, aldermen, and common council, vested with the usual powers, they would still be unable to exert those powers so as to control the affairs of this town in a manner sufficiently efficacious. The fires of a century and a half have hardly forced the consent of the inhabitants to build with brick and stone, or to cease from accumulating additional materials for a conflagration. The evils, which they have hitherto suffered from a feeble police, are far from being such as to awaken a general belief, that a more energetic one is necessary. In these remarks I intend no censure on the Bostonians. They

would probably adopt such a measure as readily as any other people in the like circumstances. But no body of people, now existing in the United States, would adopt it but from mere necessity. Should it be said, that several towns in Connecticut have solicited such a mode of government, my answer is, that these towns in their solicitation aimed at totally other objects; and that their police now is not a whit more efficient than it was before. The police of Pekin is in a sense perfect, because it is invested with absolute authority. The same perfection cannot be attained without the same power. The only substitute for this purpose, in a free country, is a more virtuous and thorough education of children than has hitherto been found among the human race.

The commerce of Boston is very extensive, and is carried on with every part of the globe. The coasting trade is inferior to that of New-York: still it is great. Its direct commerce, also, is less. Its circuitous commerce is probably greater.

The following statement will exhibit the amount of its imports for ten years, commencing with 1801, in an imperfect manner. It is an abstract of the duties on imports.

Years.	Duties.
1801 . . . . . Dollars,	2,926,538
1802	2,181,888
1803	2,005,587
1804	3,471,382
1805	3,718,002
1806	4,010,010
1807	472,751
1808	1,495,833
1809	1,620,291
1810	2,778,675*

There are upwards of eighty wharfs and quays in the harbour of Boston. Of these the principal is Boston pier, or Long wharf, the most considerable structure of this kind in

* In 1816 the shipping of Boston amounted to 143,420 tons. In 1816, 655 foreign vessels and 1,684 coasting vessels arrived in that port. In 1817 arrived 775 foreign vessels and 1,649 coasting vessels, and cleared 685 foreign vessels and 1,494 coasting vessels.—*Pub.*

the United States. Its length, from the bottom of State Street, is one thousand seven hundred and forty-three feet, and its breadth one hundred and four. At the end, the water is seventeen feet deep, when lowest. Hancock's wharf, and India wharf, are also very important works of the same nature. On the latter of these is a splendid collection of stores, built and arranged with singular elegance, and far excelling every thing of the kind on this side of the Atlantic*. This undertaking, and that by which Mount Vernon has been covered with noble houses, has, it is believed, been rarely excelled in the history of individual enterprise. Broad Street, which connects India wharf with Boston pier, is also very beautifully lined with stores. Stores are also built on the north side of Boston pier throughout the whole length; some of them handsome. A view of these structures, whether single or successive, lends a magnificence to commerce, which it can boast on no other spot of North America.

The quantity of shipping owned in this town is very great. The liveliest impression that was ever made on my mind of cheerful activity has been communicated by the vast multitude of boats and larger vessels moored in this harbour, or moving over its waters in a thousand directions.

The manufactures of Boston are numerous and considerable. Among them are soap, candles, chocolate, loaf-sugar, beer, rum, cordage, duck, cards, pot and pearl-ashes, paper-hangings, plate-glass, various manufactures in brass, cannon, bells, &c. &c. There are here thirty distilleries, eight sugar-houses, and two breweries. Before the fire of July 30th, 1794, there were fourteen rope-walks. Seven of them were then consumed, several of which have since been rebuilt.

The chocolate, made in this town by Cunningham fifty years

* Since this account was written, there "have been erected in 1817, on both sides of Market Street, a block of stores four hundred and eighty-five feet in length on one side, and four hundred and forty-two on the other, and four stories high; and, on Central wharf, another immense pile of building was completed the same year, one thousand two hundred and forty feet in length, containing fifty-four stores, four stories high, and having a spacious hall in the centre, over which is erected an elegant observatory." Worcester's Gazetteer.—*Pub.*

ago, was superior to any, which has ever been made in the United States.

The best window glass, made here, excels any which is imported.

The wealth of Boston is great. Individuals have risen to high opulence in greater numbers, compared with the mass of population, than in any other large town of the United States.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XLVII.

Character of the Inhabitants of Boston.

DEAR SIR;

HAVING presented to you an imperfect picture of Boston, I will now attempt to exhibit the character of its inhabitants.

The Bostonians, almost without an exception, are derived from one country and a single stock. They are all descendants of Englishmen, and of course are united by all the great bonds of society, language, religion, government, manners, and interests. You will easily believe, therefore, that they exhibit as much unity of character as can accord with the nature of free and civilized society. With a very small number of exceptions, they speak the English language in the English manner; are Protestants; hold the great principles of English liberty; are governed voluntarily by the English common law, and by statutes strongly resembling those of Great Britain, under a constitution essentially copied from the British, and by courts in almost every respect the same. Their education, also, differs very little in the school, the shop, the counting-house, or the university. Although they are republicans, and generally Congregationalists, they are natively friends of good order and firm government, and feel the reputation of Old Massachusetts, in much the same manner as an Englishman feels the honour of Old England.

You will remember, that every New-Englander, with hardly an exception, is taught to read, write, and keep accounts. By means of this privilege, knowledge is probably more universally diffused here than in any other considerable town in the world. A great number of the inhabitants, also, have been liberally educated. In examining a catalogue of the members of the university in Cambridge a short time since, I observed, that

about one-fourth of the whole number were natives of Boston. Persons of this character, from the state of society, mix more freely, and converse more generally than in other countries, with those of every class. Hence, also, information is more universally diffused.

Boston contains about thirty-four thousand inhabitants*: a population sufficiently great to ensure all the benefits of refined society, and yet so small, as to leave the character of every man open to the observation of every other†. Here a man is not, as in London, lost in an immense crowd of people, and thus hidden from the inspection of his fellow-men, but is known, and is conscious that he is known. His virtues and his vices, his wisdom and his folly, excite here much the same attention, and are examined in much the same manner, as in a country village. A strong sense of the public approbation, or disapprobation, therefore, cannot fail to reach every man who is not stupid. All offices and honours are, at the same time, conferred here by the general suffrage; and success at elections depends, at least in a great measure, on the candidate's supposed character. Of course every man will feel the influence of these considerations; every man, I mean, who feels even a remote wish to obtain a public office.

Popular elections are, in a great measure, the result of popular prejudices and passions. To excite these in his own favour is a principal object of every ambitious man. A town of this size will furnish no small advantages to a demagogue in the pursuit of this object. It is easier to excite to madness the common people of a large town, than the more cautious and sober inhabitants of a village. In every such town demagogues will be found; and the success, which will attend their ingenious efforts, will compel better men to resemble them at least in civility.

Boston is distingished for its habits of business. A man, who is not believed to follow some useful business, can scarcely acquire or retain even a decent reputation. A traveller, passing through it, is struck with the peculiar appearance of ac-

* 1810.

† In 1820, Boston, including Chelsea, and the islands in the harbour, contained forty-three thousand eight hundred and ninety-three inhabitants. —*Pub.*

tivity everywhere visible. Almost all, whom he meets, move with a sprightliness differing very sensibly from what he observes in New-York and Philadelphia.

Not less distinguished are the inhabitants, particularly the middle and inferior classes, for their intelligence and information. In a singular degree are they acquainted with the affairs of the town itself, and with the residence and character of almost every inhabitant. I have rarely met a child, who could not tell me both the street and the house for which I inquired.

Nor are they less distinguished for civility. A Bostonian, if not pressed by business of his own, will readily accompany a stranger to the house which he wishes to find, and will scarcely appear to feel as if he had conferred the least obligation. In the superior classes this disposition appears often with peculiar advantage.

Better tables are nowhere spread than in Boston; and nowhere does a guest find himself more at ease, more secure from solicitations, or entertained with more graceful or cordial hospitality. The best bred women here are charming examples of grace and amenity.

The people of Boston are characteristically distinguished by a lively imagination; an ardour easily kindled; a sensibility soon felt, and strongly expressed; a character more resembling that of the Greeks than that of the Romans. They admire, where graver people would only approve; detest, where cooler minds would only dislike; applaud a performance, where others would listen in silence; and hiss, where a less susceptible audience would only frown. This character renders them sometimes more, sometimes less amiable, usually less cautious, and often more exposed to future regret. From this source their language is frequently hyperbolical, and their pictures of objects, in any way interesting, highly coloured.

Hence, also, their enterprises are sudden, bold, and sometimes rash. A general spirit of adventure prevails here, which in numerous instances has become the means of attempts, made with honour and success, in cases where many of their commercial neighbours would have refused to adventure at all. The manner in which they commenced the trade of Nootka Sound, and circumnavigated the globe, advantageously illus-

trates this observation. A ship, belonging to Joseph Barrell, Esq., and others, sailed round the Earth three times, and a sloop of moderate size once. Few merchants in America would, I believe, have resolved on these enterprises, and few seamen executed them. On the other hand, the dealers in Georgia lands found many more customers in Boston than in New-York. The tea, shipped to Boston by the East-India company, was destroyed. In New-York and Philadelphia it was stored.

From the same source, also, both persons and things are suddenly, strongly, and universally applauded or censured. Individuals of distinction command a popularity which engrosses the public mind, and rises to enthusiasm. Their observations and their efforts are repeated with wonder and delight; and such, as do not join in the chorus of applause, hazard the suspicion of being weak, envious, or malevolent. When the sympathetic ardour is terminated, the persons, who have received this tribute of admiration, are, without any change of character, regarded, perhaps through life, as objects deserving of no peculiar esteem or attachment. This characteristic is, indeed, found in every large city. Every such city has, at every period, its great men, made great by the fashion, and for the moment; men, who yet descend soon and finally to the common level, and who, nevertheless, during that moment, see others, really great and eminently good, forgotten amid the adulation given to themselves.

From this ardour springs, in the inhabitants of this town, especially in the middle and lower classes, a pronunciation unusually rapid. As they are all of English origin, they are perfectly free from the multiform brogue which salutes the ears of a traveller in the cities of New-York and Philadelphia. Their language is probably superior in its purity to that of the same classes in the city of London, as their education is much better; but the rapidity of their pronunciation contracts frequently two short syllables into one, and thus renders the language, in itself too rough, still rougher, by a violent junction of consonants, which in the spelling were separated. Dissyllables, accented on the first, and terminating the last with a liquid, particularly with l, n, or m, they pronounce in such a manner, as to leave out the sound of the vowel. Thus

Sweden, Britain, garden, vessel, are extensively pronounced *Swed'n, Brit'n, gard'n, vess'l.* By this contraction, also, the harshness of the language is increased. The syllable *ing*, when unaccented, many of them pronounce *en*, as *exceeden* for exceeding, *aspiren* for aspiring, &c. This pronunciation I have remarked in most Englishmen whom I have seen, and it may be the prevailing one in England. It is, however, an unnecessary, useless departure from the sound indicated by the letters; and the loss of one variety of pleasing sounds in our language, denoted by the semivowel which we write *ng*. Like the inhabitants of most other large cities, they often omit the aspirate in words beginning with *wh*, pronouncing, for example, wheat and wharf, *weat* and *warf*, &c. Several of the most fashionable people have lately, and I think unhappily, adopted the harsh anti-English pronunciation of the vowel *u*, foisted upon the language by Sheridan, and derived from the brogue of his native country.

The Boston style is a phrase proverbially used throughout a considerable part of this country to denote a florid, pompous manner of writing, and has been thought, by persons at a distance, to be the predominant style of this region. It cannot be denied, that several publications, written in this manner, have issued from the press here, and for a time been much celebrated. Most of the orations, delivered on the 5th of March, may be produced as examples. Still it has never been true, that this mode of writing was either general in this town, or adopted by men of superior talents. The most respectable writers here have been distinguished for the chasteness and simplicity of their compositions. The papers, published by the legislature of this state on the embargo, and the measures connected with it, are inferior in no kind of merit to those of any public body in the world.

The people of this town are distinguished by their attachment to literature. Their pecuniary contributions to this object have exceeded those of any city in the American Union. Indeed, the liberality, exhibited in most of the towns in this coast, is unrivalled on this side the Atlantic. Accordingly, there are here many more men, in proportion to the whole number, liberally educated than in New-York, and far more than in any other town in America. There is, also, a much

more extensive diffusion of intelligence and information among all classes of people.

When the first proposal was made to establish a theatre in this town, a considerable number of the inhabitants eagerly engaged in forwarding the design. Accordingly a theatre was built, and soon after that another. There is reason to believe, that the stage is now regarded with very general indifference. One of the theatres has been already taken down, and the other, it is said, is far from being crowded.

An honourable specimen of the Bostonian character was lately exhibited. Two young gentlemen, natives, fought a duel: one of them was killed: the other fled. The inhabitants with one voice manifested an unequivocal wish to have the law executed upon the survivor. Even his own friends are said to have made no efforts in his favour. It is doubted whether the same opposition to this crime, and the same respect for the decisions of law, would be found, in a similar case, in any other town of equal distinction. It ought to be remarked, that the survivor was intensely provoked, and had made numerous, unusual, and very patient exertions to prevent the unhappy catastrophe.

During one hundred and forty years, Boston was probably more distinguished for religion than any city of the same size in the world. An important change has, however, within a period of no great length, taken place in the religious opinions of the Bostonians. Before this period, moderate Calvinism very generally prevailed. At the present time, Unitarianism appears to be the predominating system. It is believed, that neither ministers nor people have had any reason to congratulate themselves on this change.

I am, Sir, &c,

LETTER XLVIII.

Fashionable Education.

DEAR SIR;

IN a former Letter I mentioned the attention generally given to education by the inhabitants of Boston. I will now communicate to you some observations concerning a mode of education adopted to some extent, as I believe, both here and in many other places; particularly those which are wealthy and populous. In almost all instances, where it is pursued at all, it is chiefly confined to people of fashion.

The end proposed by the parents is to make their children objects of admiration. The means, though not sanctioned are certainly characterized by the end. That I have not mistaken the end may be easily proved by a single resort to almost any genteel company. To such company the children of the family are regularly introduced; and the praise of the guests is administered to them as regularly as the dinner or the tea is served up. Commendation is rung through all its changes; and you may hear, both in concert and succession, "beautiful children!" "fine children!" "sweet children!" "lovely children!" "what a charming family!" "what a delightful family!" "you are a fine little fellow!" "you are a sweet little girl!" "My son, can't you speak one of your pieces before this good company?" "Caroline, where is your work?" "Susan, bring Miss Caroline's work, and show it to that lady." "Susan, bring with you the picture, which she finished last week:" with many other things of a similar nature. Were you to pass a twelvemonth in this country, and to believe all that you heard said by people, not destitute of respectability; whatever opinion you might form of the parents, you would suppose, that the children were a superior race of beings, both in person and mind; and that beauty,

genius, grace, and loveliness, had descended to this world in form, and determined to make these states their future residence.

The means of effectuating this darling object are the communication of what are called accomplishments. The children are solicitously taught music, dancing, embroidery, ease, confidence, graceful manners, &c. &c. To these may be added what is called reading and travelling. You may very naturally ask me what fault I find in these branches of education. My objection lies originally to the end, which is proposed, and to the direction, which it gives to the means; in themselves harmless, and capable of being useful. Children, educated in the manner to which I refer, soon learn, that the primary end of their efforts, and even of their existence, is appearance only. What they are, they soon discern is of little consequence; but what they appear to be is of importance inestimable. The whole force of the early mind is directed, therefore, to this object; and exhausted in acquiring the trifles of which it is composed.

The thoughts of a boy, thus educated, are spent upon the colour, quality, and fashion of his clothes, and upon the several fashions to which his dress is to be successively conformed; upon his bow, his walk, his mode of dancing, his behaviour in company, and his nice observance of the established rules of good breeding. To mingle without awkwardness or confusion in that empty, unmeaning chat, those mere vibrations of the tongue, termed fashionable conversation, is the ultimate aim of his eloquence; and to comprehend and to discuss, without impropriety, the passing topics of the day, the chief object of his mental exertions. When he reads, he reads only to appear with advantage in such conversation. When he acts, he acts only to be admired by those who look on. Novels, plays, and other trifles of a similar nature, are the customary subjects of his investigation. Voyages, travels, biography, and sometimes history, limit his severe researches. By such a mind, thinking will be loathed, and study regarded with terror. In the pursuits to which it is devoted, there is nothing to call forth, to try, or to increase its strength. Its powers, instead of being raised to new degrees of energy, are never exercised to the extent in which they already exist. His present em-

pacity cannot be known for want of trial. What that capacity might become cannot be even conjectured. Destitute of that habit of labouring, which alone can render labour pleasing, or even supportable, he dreads exertion as a calamity. The sight of a classic author gives him a chill; a lesson in Locke or Euclid, a mental ague.

Thus in a youth, formed, perhaps, by nature for extensive views and manly efforts, sloth of mind is generated, dandled, and nursed on the knee of parental indulgence. A soft, luxurious, and sickly character is spread over both the understanding and the affections; which forbids their growth, prevents their vigour, and ruins every hope of future eminence and future worth. The faculties of the mind, like those of the body, acquire strength only by exercise. To attain their greatest strength, both must be exercised daily, and often to the utmost. Had Goliath never exerted the powers of his body, he would have been an infant in strength: had Newton never exerted those of his mind, he would have been an infant in understanding. Genius, in the abstract, is a mere capacity for exertion. This is the gift of nature, and is all that she gives. The utmost of this capacity can never be conjectured, until the mind has in a long-continued, habitual course, made its most vigorous efforts.

If these observations are just, they furnish every parent an easy and sure directory for the intellectual education of his children. If he wishes them to possess the greatest strength of which they are capable, he must induce them to the most vigorous mental exertions. The reading education, which I have described, will never accomplish the purpose. Hard study, a thorough investigation of mathematical science, and a resolute attention to the most powerful efforts of distinguished logicians; in a word, an old-fashioned, rigid, academical education will ever be found indispensable to the youth, who is destined to possess mental greatness.

On girls, this unfortunate system induces additional evils. Miss, the darling of her father and the pride of her mother, is taught from the beginning to regard her dress as a momentous concern. She is instructed in embroidery merely that she may finish a piece of work, which from time to time is to be brought out, to be seen, admired, and praised by visitors; or

framed, and hung up in the room, to be still more frequently seen, admired, and praised. She is taught music, only that she may perform a few times, to excite the same admiration and applause for her skill on the forte piano. She is taught to draw, merely to finish a picture, which, when richly framed and ornamented, is hung up to become an altar for the same incense. Do not misunderstand me. I have no quarrel with these accomplishments. So far as they contribute to make the subject of them more amiable, useful, or happy, I admit their value. It is the *employment* of them, which I censure; the sacrifice made by the parent of his property and his child at the shrine of vanity.

The reading of girls is regularly lighter than that of boys. When the standard of reading for boys is set too low, that for girls will be proportionally lowered. Where boys investigate books of sound philosophy, and labour in mathematical and logical pursuits; girls read history, the higher poetry, and judicious discourses in morality and religion. When the utmost labour of boys is bounded by history, biography, and the pamphlets of the day; girls sink down to songs, novels, and plays.

Of this reading, what, let me ask, are the consequences? By the first novel, which she reads, she is introduced into a world literally new; a middle region between "this spot, which men call earth," and that which is formed in Arabian tales. Instead of houses, inhabited by mere men, women, and children, she is presented with a succession of splendid palaces and gloomy castles, inhabited by tenants, half human and half angelic, or haunted by downright fiends. Every thing in the character and circumstances of these beings comes at the wish or the call of the enchanter. Whatever can supply their wants, suit their wishes, or forward or frustrate their designs, is regularly at hand. The heroes are as handsome, as dignified, as brave, as generous, as affectionate, as faithful, and as accomplished, as he supposes will satisfy the demands of his readers. At the same time, they have always a quantum sufficit of money; or if not, some relation dies at the proper time, and leaves them an ample supply. Every heroine is also a compound of all that is graceful and lovely. Her person is fashioned "by the hand of harmony." Her

complexion outvies the snow, and shames the rose. Her features are such as Milton's Eve might envy; and her mind is of the same class with those refined beings, to whom this great poet in his list of the celestial orders gives the elegant name of Virtues. With these delightful inhabitants of Utopia are contrasted iron-handed misers, profligate guardians, traitorous servants, and hags, not excelled by those of Lapland itself. It ought not to be omitted, that in this sequestered region the fields and gardens are all second-hand copies of Paradise. On them, whenever it is convenient, the morning beams with every tint of elegance, and every ray of glory: and, when Aurora has no further use for these fine things, her sister Evening puts them on herself, and appears scarcely less splendid, or less delightful.

With this ideal world the unfortunate girl corresponds so much, and so long, that she ultimately considers it as her own proper residence. With its inhabitants she converses so frequently and so habitually, that they become almost her only familiar acquaintance.

But she must one day act in the real world. What can she expect, after having resided so long in novels, but that fortunes, and villas, and Edens, will spring up everywhere in her progress through life to promote her enjoyment. She has read herself into a heroine, and is fairly entitled to all the appendages of this character. If her imagination may be trusted, she is to be romantically rich, and romantically happy. The mornings, which dawn upon her, are ever to be bright; the days serene; and the evenings fragrant and delightful. In a word, the curse pronounced upon mankind is, to her, to loose its gloomy influence: and sorrow and toil are to fly from the path, in which she chooses to walk through life.

With these views, how disappointed must she be by the rugged course of nature? How untoward must be the progress of facts? How coarsely must the voice of truth grate upon her ear? How disgusted must she be to find herself surrounded, not by trusty Johns and faithful Chloes, but by ordinary domestics, chilling her with rusticity, provoking her by their negligence, insulting her with their impudence, and leaving her service without even giving her warning. Must she not feel, that it is a kind of impertinence in the days to

be cloudy and wet; in the nights to be dark and chilly; in the streets to encumber her with mud, or choke her with dust; and in the prospects to present nothing but the mere vulgar scenes of this vulgar world?

The very food which she eats (for eat she must), will disgust her by its coarse unlikeness to the viands on which her imagination has so often feasted. Her friends, even those most intimately connected with her, will loose all the amiableness with which they are invested by natural affection, because they differ so grossly in their persons, manners, and opinions, from the fine forms of fancy, and from the poetical minds, whose residence is a novel or a song. In a word, the world will become to her a solitude, and its inhabitants strangers; because her taste for living has become too refined, too dainty, to relish any thing found in real life.

If she is at all pleasing and amiable, she will be addressed. But by whom? Not by a Corydon, a Strephon, or even a Grandison. At the best, her suitor will be a being formed of flesh and blood; who intends to live by business, and to acquire reputation by diligence, integrity, and good sense. He is in pursuit of a wife; and, therefore, can hardly wish for an angel. It will be difficult for him to believe, that a being so exalted would assume the marriage vow; do the honours of his table; direct the business of his family; or preside over the education of his children. He has hitherto spent his life, perhaps, in acting vigorously in the counting-room, contending strenuously at the bar, or pursuing with diligence some other business merely human. How can such a being frame his mouth to lisp the pretty things, which alone can be in unison with so delicate an ear? Figure to yourself the disgust, the pain, the surprise, of this silken existence even at the most refined language of honesty, and at the most honourable sentiments of affection, obtruded on her by such a suitor.

Should some man of art and mischief happen to think the conquest worth obtaining, how easily might she become a victim to the very accomplishments in which she considers all excellence as involved!

Besides, this life is always in some degree a season of suffering and sorrow. In what manner can our heroine encounter either? To patience and fortitude, she has from her

infancy been a stranger. With religion she is unacqua
Principles, such as religion approves, she has none. This
has daily blasted all her expectations: with the future
she has not begun a connection. Between the Bible an
vels there is a gulph fixed, which few novel readers are wi
to pass. The consciousness of virtue, the dignified plea
of having performed our duty, the serene remembrance o
useful life, the hope of an interest in the Redeemer, and
promise of a glorious inheritance in the favour of God, a
never found in novels; and of course have never been fou
by her. A weary, distressed, bewildered voyager amid th
billows of affliction, she looks around her in vain, to find a p
lot, a pole-star, or a shore.

Under the influence of this education, persons of both sexes, also, are in extreme danger of becoming a voluntary prey to the modern philosophy, and to the principles of enchantment and perdition, which it so succesfully holds out to minds destitute of sound principle and defensive prudence. Unaccustomed to think, they are pleased to find others willing to think for them. Unaccustomed to reason, their minds will be perplexed by every argument, advanced against their opinions. The admission of truth, the comprehension of good sense, requires the toil of sober, vigorous thought. The admission of fiction, and of philosophical as truly as of poetical fiction, demands nothing but the luscious indulgence of fancy. To a soft and dainty mind, a taste fascinated by mental luxury, how much more congenial is the latter employment than the former? How improbable is it, how hopeless, that such a mind can fail to reject the dictates of sober truth and sound understanding, and from a self-indulgence, by habit rendered indispensable, imbibe the wretched doctrines, created by the philosophists of the present day? How improbable is it, that any mind, which has once imbibed these doctrines, can escape from absolute ruin?

I know, that this education is expressly attempted with a view to superior refinement; but it is not a refinement of the taste, the understanding, or the heart. It is merely a refinement of the imagination; of an imagination, already soft and sickly; of a sensibility, already excessive; of a relish, already fastidious. To a genuine perfection of taste it bears no more

blance, than the delicate white of decay to the native
ss of complexion; or than the blush of a hectic to the
of health.

is not here intended, that this mode of education prevails
in Boston than in other populous places on this continent.
haps it prevails less. That it actually exists in such places,
it is fashionable, and that this town has a share in the evil,
not, I believe, be questioned. I have taken this occasion
enter my own protest against it. In every part of it the
ctates of common sense are laid aside; that which is of the
ast importance is most regarded, and that which is of the
reatest, most forgotten. To enable children to appear with
uch fashionable advantages, as to gain admiration and ap-
plause, is the sole concern. To enable them to be what they
ought to be, wise, virtuous, and useful, is left out of the sys-
tem. The mind, instead of being educated, is left to the care
of accident and fashion. Dress, manners, and accomplish-
ments, are placed under expensive masters, and regulated
with extreme solicitude. With this education, what can a son
or a daughter become? Not a man nor a woman; but a well-
dressed bundle of accomplishments. Not a blessing nor an
heir of immortality; but a fribble or a doll.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XLIX.

Boston surrounded by pleasant Towns and Villages. Prospect from the State House. Distinguished Men. Governor Bowdoin.

DEAR SIR;

BOSTON enjoys a superiority to all the other great towns on this continent in an agreeable neighbourhood. A numerous collection of pleasant towns and villages almost surround it; the residence, not only of flourishing farmers and mechanics, but also of men respectable for their polish, learning, and worth. The surface of the country is everywhere finely varied; the soil generally fertile; the agriculture neat and productive; the gardening superior to what is found in most other places; the orchards, groves, and forests numerous and thrifty. The roads, running in every direction on the western side of the meridian, are most of them good, and some of them excellent. Several of them are lined, throughout their whole extent, with almost a continued village, formed of houses, neat, well-built, and strongly indicative of prosperity. Villas pleasantly situated, commanding handsome views, exhibiting more lightness and elegance of architecture, and ornamented with more suitable appendages than I have elsewhere seen, adorn, at little distances, a considerable part of this region. A singular collection of pleasant rides is opened in this manner to the inhabitants, and of interesting objects, to which these rides conduct them. From the gratification furnished by this source, a considerable abatement is made by several slaughter houses, standing on or near some of the roads; one of them near that which passes over the Neck. A traveller cannot easily conceive how a people, within and without whose doors so much taste and elegance appear, can be satisfied to pass daily by objects so deformed and offensive.

the same nature is the ride from Boston to Portland. part of the United States furnishes a tour equally pleasing. here is there, within the same compass, such a number of ns equally interesting, large, wealthy, and beautiful; or ally inhabited by intelligent, polished, and respectable ople.

To these advantages ought to be added another, of no small stinction, *viz.* the neighbourhood of the university in Cam- ridge. The importance of this advantage is too obvious to eed illustration.

The prospect of this town and its environs is taken com- pletely from the lantern of the state-house. Commencing your survey at Alderton Point in Nantasket, or Hull, nine miles eastward, and tracing onward to the south-east an irre- gular, undulating country, and a bewildered shore, you are presented with the peninsula called Dorchester Neck, rising with two beautiful heights. Continuing the progress further on, the towns of Dorchester, Milton, and Roxbury, fill up the view to the south-western point. Thence the eye passes over Brooklyn, Brighton, Cambridge, and Menotomy, to the west; Medford and Charlestown on the north; and thence over Malden, Chelsea, and Lynn, on the north-east; to Nahant Point, the northern boundary of the harbour. Beyond the circuit, which I have described, an extensive region is seen from this spot, gradually receding from the view, and blending by degrees into confusion.

The land side of this prospect is ornamented with beauties, numerous, rich, and diversified. The hills, from Malden, through Charlestown to Dorchester heights, are formed by slopes and summits of the highest elegance. The towns are numerous, and uncommonly cheerful. Villas in a multitude of fine situations, and churches with their white spires, enliven the rich verdure universally spread, and awaken in the mind a lively sense of prosperity.

The appearance of a large, populous, wealthy city is every- where much the same, a scene of crowds and confusion; but a scene ever engaging and animating. No city was ever seen from any point with more advantage than Boston from this. All its buildings, public and private, are in complete view; and are contrasted by the Common, a spacious field of the

sprightliest verdure, pastured by a great multitude of cows, and lying directly beneath the eye.

The water side of the prospect is not inferior to that of the land. The three basins of Dorchester, Charles river, and Mystic, are uncommonly beautiful, and are crossed by seven extensive bridges. The harbour is a magnificent piece of water, containing a number of fine islands, and ornamented by the numerous points, successively stretching out from its serpentine shores. On its surface a vast collection of shipping and smaller vessels is continually seen, either lying at anchor, or moving through its waters in every direction. In a clear autumnal day, a sense of sprightliness, activity, and gaiety, is excited here in the highest degree; and is increased by the prospect of ships, advancing towards the town through the entrance of the harbour, where it opens interminably into the ocean.

The commerce of Boston is principally supported by the state of Massachusetts. New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, engross to a great extent the supplies of the American Union. Even those of this state are shared by Salem, Newburyport, and Portland; and of the western parts by New-York.

Boston has always contained a large number of inhabitants, distinguished by their respectability of character. It will not be expected, that but very few should be particularly mentioned, unless in a biographical dictionary.

Governor Winthrop may be justly considered as the father of this colony; and has merited the respectful and perpetual remembrance of its inhabitants. This gentleman devoted his property, his talents, and his life, to its interests. He was able, upright, and pious. Too zealous at times against opinions, which he thought erroneous, and against practices of no great importance, he was still a man of superior worth, benevolence, and liberality.

Governor Shirley came from England to Boston in 1733, where he practised law until 1741. From this time he continued to hold the chief seat of magistracy until the year 1757. He was afterwards governor of one of the Bahama Islands; whence he returned to Massachusetts; and died at Roxbury, in 1771. He was one of the best and ablest governors of

the colony; and will be long remembered as the author of the expedition to Cape Breton, and the abolition of the paper currency in Massachusetts'-Bay.

Governor Bowdoin was in early life distinguished for his talents and his virtues. He was a sound scholar at the university, where he took his first degree in 1745. His attachment to learning and science continued through life; and he not only excelled in them himself, but was a generous benefactor to others of the same character. The university of Edinburgh gave him the degree of doctor of laws; and the royal societies of London and Dublin elected him one of their members. When the American academy of arts and sciences was, in a great measure by his influence, established at Boston in 1780, he was chosen its first president, and continued in the office until he died. In 1753, at the age of twenty-six, he was chosen one of the representatives of Boston; and in 1756 he became a member of the legislative council. At this board, either as a member or president, he continued twenty-three years. He was also president of the convention, which formed the constitution of Massachusetts; and contributed not a little to the wisdom discernible in many of its provisions.

In the year 1785 he was elected governor of the state. In this office, his wisdom, firmness, and moderation, reflected the highest honour upon his character; and crushed in its infancy, and without a single execution, an insurrection against the government, stimulated by an unwise taxation, and secretly cherished by every discontented and mischievous citizen. This measure preserved the state, perhaps the Union; and merited for the author of it a statue.

Still more honourable to this highly respectable man was his Christianity. More than thirty years of his life he was a professor of religion, and exemplarily adorned his profession. Bishop Butler's Analogy originally established in his mind the truth of Divine revelation. On the foundation of the prophets and apostles he erected a fair edifice of personal religion, which he beautified to the end of his days. In all the duties enjoined by the Gospel, both of piety and charity, he abounded throughout his life; and at his death left the world, urging upon his family the religion, which he had professed,

and rejoicing in the hope of spending his future existence with them in a happier world. His name will descend to posterity as the odour of sweet incense.

The Honourable John Lowell, late judge of the district court for Massachusetts, deserves a distinguished place in the biography of this country, for his learning, good sense, elegance of mind, and religious worth.

The Honourable Thomas Russell, son of the gentleman, whom I have mentioned in the account of Charlestown, was one of the most respectable and successful merchants whom America has produced; and for his private and domestic virtues, and honourable public life, was held in high estimation, not only in this town, but throughout the country.

A numerous train of eminent clergymen have been ministers of Boston, at the head of whom are the venerable names of Cotton and Wilson; the former distinguished for his learning, genius, and eloquence; the latter for his mildness, gentleness, benevolence, and piety. Few men have been more respected on this side of the Atlantic than Mr. Cotton; none, perhaps, more beloved than Mr. Wilson. To commence an account of the character of these respectable men would involve an obligation to proceed; and to proceed would be to write a volume.

In the year 1790, Boston contained 2,376 dwelling-houses, and 18,038 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,870 houses, and 24,937 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 33,250*.

I am, Sir, &c.

* By the census of 1820, Boston contained 43,298 inhabitants.—*Pub.*

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